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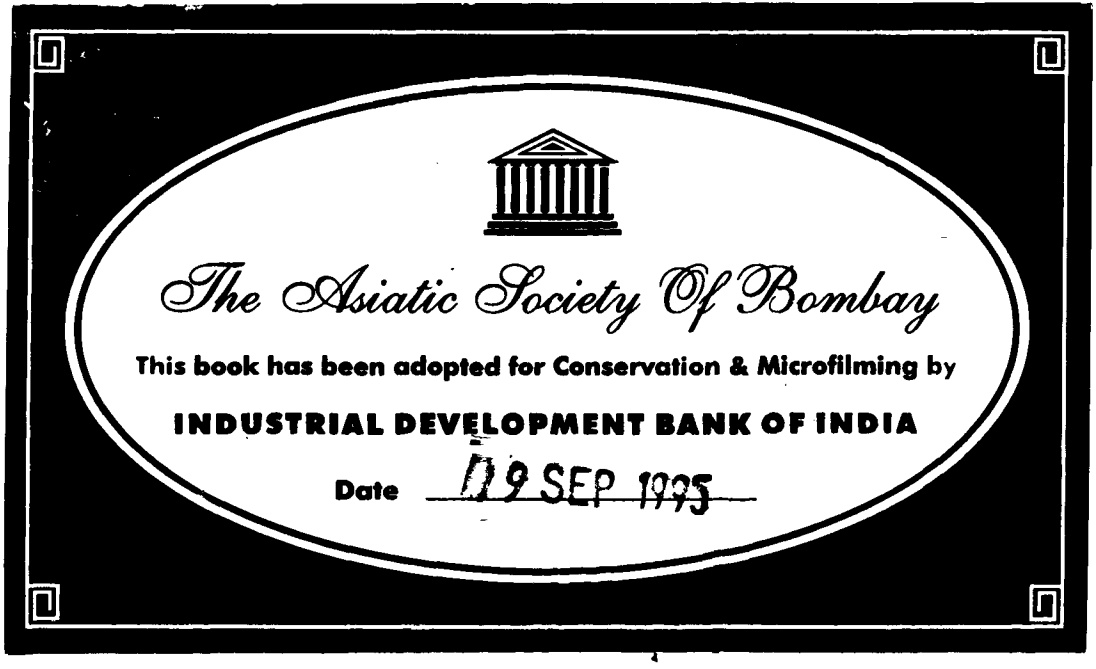
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AUTHORS'

Vol. I

INTRODUCTION

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Much disappointment has been felt in Europe at the sterility of the historic annals of Hindusthan. When Sir William Jones first began to explore the vast mines of Sanskrit literature, great hopes were entertained that the history of the world would acquire considerable accessions from this source. The sanguine expectations that were then formed have not been realized: and as it is usually happens, excitement has been succeeded by apathy and indifference. It is now generally regarded as an axiom, that India possesses no national history; to which we may oppose the remark of a French Orientalist, who ingeniously asks, whence Abul Fazl obtained the materials for his outlines of ancient Hindu history? Mr. Wilson has, indeed, done much to obviate this prejudice, by his translation of the *Raj Tarangini*, or the History of Cashmere, which clearly demonstrates that regular historical composition was an art not unknown in Hindusthan, and affords satisfactory ground for concluding that these productions were once less rare than at present, and that further exertion may bring more relics to light. Although the labours of Colebrooke, Wilkins, Wilson, and others of our countrymen, emulated by many learned men in France and Germany, have revealed to Europe some of the hidden stores of India, still it is not unattended with regret, we have done much more than pass the threshold of Indian science, and we are consequently not competent to speak decisively on the extent of its character. Immense libraries, in various parts of India, are still intact, which have survived the devastations of the Mussulmans. The collections of Jesuits in and Portuguese example [illegible] the cupidity of even the bigoted Ali, who crammed [illegible] and who would have shewn as little mercy to those [illegible] at Omar displayed towards the Alexandrine library. Many other minor collections, consisting of thousands of volumes, exist in Oudh, Nepal, Cashmere, Jodhpur, Jeypur, Tanjore, Seringapatam, Poona, Satara, Nagpur, Baroda, Kolapur, Ujjain, Mathura, Benares, Nadiya, Jagannath, Kanchi, Kumbakonam, Tirupati, Madura, Ramesvaram, Travancore, Cochin, Mangalore, Goa, Bombay, Surat, Ahmedabad, Bhuj, Jodhpur, Jeypur, Udaipur, Kota, Bundi, Gwalior, Indore, Bhopal, Nagpur, Hyderabad, Kolhapur, Satara, Poona, Kolhapur, Satara, Poona, Kolhapur, Satara, Poona

If we consider the political changes and convulsions which h[illegible] happened in Hindusthan since Mahmood's invasion, and the intolerant bigotry of many of his successors, we shall be able to account [illegible] the paucity of its national works on history, without being driven to the improbable conclusion, that the Hindus were ignorant of an art which has been cultivated in other countries from almost the earliest ages. Is it to be imagined that a nation so highly civilized as the Hindus, amongst whom the exact sciences flourished in perfection, by whom the fine arts, architecture, sculpture, poetry, music, were not only cultivated, but taught and defined by the nicest and most elaborate rules, were totally unacquainted with the simple art of recording the characters of their princes, and the [illegible]s of their reigns? Where such traces of *mind* exist, we can hardly believe that there was a want of competent recorders of events which synchronical authorities tell us were worthy of commemoration. The cities of Hastinapur and Indraprastha, of Anhalwara and Somanath, the triumphal columns of Delhi and Cheetore, the shrines of Aboo and Girnar, the cave-temples of Elephanta and Ellora, are so many attestations of the same fact; nor can we imagine that the age in which these works were erected was without an historian. Yet from the Mahabharat, or Great War, to Alexander's invasion, and from that grand event to the era of Mahmood of Ghizni, scarcely a paragraph of pure native Hindu history (except as before stated) has hitherto been revealed to the curiosity of western scholars. In the heroic history of Prithi Raj, the last of the Hindu sovereigns of Delhi, written by his bard Chund, we find notices which authorize the inference that works similar to his own were then extant relating to the period between Mahmood and Shabudin (A. D. 1000—1193); but these have disappeared.

After eight centuries of galling subjection to conquerors [illegible]lly [illegible]tant of the classical language of the Hindus; after almost every capital city had been repeatedly stormed and sacked by barbarous, bigotted, and exasperated foes, it is too much to expect that the literature of the country should not have sustained, in common with

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Of the vast numbers of these MSS. books in the libraries of Puttun and [illegible]essulmeer, many are of the most remote antiquity and in a charac[illegible] [illegible]onger understood by their possessors, or only by the supreme [illegible] [illegible]his initiated librarians. There is one volume held so sa[illegible] [illegible]ontents, that it is suspended by a chain in the temp[illegible] [illegible]st-named capital in the desert, and is only [illegible] [illegible]ing renewed, or at the inauguration of [illegible] [illegible]uthorship to Somaditya Sura Ac[illegible] [illegible]lamite had crossed the waters of [illegible] [illegible]eyond that stream. H[illegible] [illegible]on every new install[illegible] [illegible]and cou[illegible]

CHAPTER XV.

Rana Sangram.—Dismemberment of the Mogul Empire.—Nizam-ool Moolk establishes the Hydrabad State.—Murder of the emperor Ferocksere.—Abrogation of the Jezeya.—Mahomed Shah, Emperor of Delhi.—Saadut Khan obtains Oude.—Repeal of the Jezeya confirmed.—Policy of Mewar.—Rana Sangram dies.—Anecdotes regarding him.—Rana Juggut Sing II. succeeds.—Treaty of triple Alliance with Marwar and Ambar.—The Mahrattas invade and gain footing in Malwa and Guzerat.—Invasion of Nadir Shah.—Sack of Delhi.—Condition of Rajpootana.—Limits of Mewar.—Rajpoot Alliances.—Bajerow invades Mewar.—Obtains a Cession of annual tribute.—Contest to place Madhu Sing on the Throne of Amber.—Battle of Rajmahal.—The Rana defeated.—He leagues with Mulhar Holkar.—Esuri Sing of Ambar takes poison.—The Rana dies.—His Character.

SANGRM SING *(the lion of battle)* succeeded; a name renowned in the annals of Mewar, being that of the opponent of the founder of the Moguls. He ascended the throne about the same time with Mahomed Shah, the last of the race of Timoor who deserved the name of emperor of India. During the reign of Sangram, from A. D. 1716 to 1734, this mighty empire was dismembered; when, in lieu of one paramount authority, numerous independent governments started up, which preserved their uncertain existence until the last revolution, which has given a new combination to these discordant materials—Mahomedan, Mahratta, and Rajpoot, in the course of one century under the dominion of a handful of Britons! Like the Satraps of the ancient Persian, or the Lieutenants of Alexander, each chief proclaimed himself master of the province, the government of which was confided to his loyalty and talents; and it can not fail to diminish any regret at the successive prostration of Bengal, Oude, Hydrabad, and other less conspicuous states, to remember that they were founded in rebellion, and erected on ingratitude; and that their rulers were destitute of those sympathies, which could alone give stability to their ephemeral greatness, by improving the condition of their subjects. With the Mahrattas the case is different: their emergence to power

claims our admiration, when tyranny transformed the industrious husbandman, and the minister of religion, into a hardy and enterprising soldier, and a skilful functionary of government. Had their ambition been restrained within legitimate bounds, it would have been no less gratifying than politically and morally just that the family of Sevaji should have retained its authority in countries which his active valour wrested from Arungzeb. But the genius of conquest changed their natural habits: they devastated instead of consolidating; and in lieu of that severe and frugal simplicity, and that energy of enterprize, which were their peculiar characteristics, they became distinguished for mean parsimony, low cunning, and dastardly depredation. Had they, retaining their original character, been content with their proper sphere of action, the Dekhan, they might yet have held the sovereignty of that vast region, where their habits and language assimilated them with the people. But as they spread over the north they encountered national antipathies, and though professing the same creed, a wider difference in sentiment divided the Mahratta from the Rajpoot, than from the despots of Delhi, whose tyrannical intolerance was more endurable, because less degrading, than the rapacious meanness of the Southron. Rajasthan benefited by the demolition of the empire: to all but Mewar it yielded an extension of power. Had the national mind been allowed to repose, and its energies to recruit, after so many centuries of demoralization, all would have recovered their strength, which lay in the opinions and industry of the people, a devoted tenantry and brave vassalage, whom we have so often depicted as abandoning their habitations and pursuits to aid the patriotic views of their princes.

The short reign of Ferocksere was drawing to a close; its end was accelerated by the very means by which that monarch hoped to emancipate himself from the thraldom of the Syeds, against whose authority the faction of Enayet Oolla was but a feeble counterpoise, and whose arbitrary habits, in the re-establishment of the jezeya, lost him even the support of the father of his queen. It was on this occasion that the celebrated Nizam-ool Moolk, the founder of the Hydrabad state, was brought upon the stage: he then held the unimportant charge of the district of Moradabad; but possessed of high talents, he was bought over, by the promise of the government of Malwa, to further the views of the Syeds. Supported by a body of ten thousand Mahrattas, these makers of kings soon manifested their displeasure by the deposal of Ferocksere, who was left without any support but that of the princes of Ambar and Boondi. Yet they

would never have abandoned him had he hearkened to their counsel to take the field, and trust his cause to them: but, cowardly and infatuated, he refused to quit the walls of his palace, and threw himself upon the mercy of his enemies, who made him dismiss the faithful Rajpoots and "admit a guard of honour of their troops into the citadel."*

Ferocksere hoped for security in the inviolability of the harem—but he found no sanctuary even there: to use the words of the Mogul memoir, "night advanced, and day, like the fallen star of the emperor, sunk in darkness. The gates of the citadel were closed upon his friends; the Vizier and Ajit Sing remained within. This night was dreadful to the inhabitants of the city; no one knew what passing in the palace, and the troops under the Ameer-ool Omra, with ten thousand Mahrattas, remained under arms: morning came, and all hope was extinguished by the royal ba[illegible] (Nobut) an[illegible]ng the deposal of Ferocksere, in the proclamation of Ruffih-ool Dirjat, his successor." The interval between the deposal and the death of an Asiatic prin[illegible] is short, and even while the heralds vociferated

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*Amongst the archives of the Rana to which I had access, I discovered an autograph letter of Raja Jey Sing, addressed at this important juncture to the Rana's prime minister, Behari-das.

"The Ameer-ool Omra has arrived, and engagements through Ballajee Pundit have been agreed to; he said that he always had friendship for me, but advised me *to march*, a measure alike recommended by Kishen Sing and Jewa Loll. On this I presented an *arzee* to his Majesty, stated the advice, but desired to have his Majesty's commands; when the king sanctioning my leave, such being the general desire, on Thursday the 9th of Falgoon I moved, and pitched my tents at Serbul Serai. I told the Rao Raja (of Boondi) to accompany me, but it did not reach his mind, and he joined Kootub-ool Moolk, who gave him some horses, and made him encamp with Ajit Sing. Bheem Sing's (of Kota) army arrived, and an engagement took place, in which Jaet Sing Hara was killed, and the Rao Raja fled to Aliverdi Khan's serai. I sent troops to his aid; the king has made over the baths and wardrobe to the Syeds, who have every thing their own way. *You know the Syeds*; I am on my way back to my own country, and have much to say *viva voce* to the *Huzoor*: (*a*) come and meet me. Falgoon, S. 19th, 1775 (A. D. 1719)."

"Sid Sri Maharajadheraj Sri Singram Sing ji; receive the *moojra* (*b*) of Raja Sawaie Jey Sing. Here all is well; your welfare is desired; you are the chief, nor is there any seperation of interests: my horses and Rajpoots are at your service; command when I can be of use. It is long since I have seen the royal mother (*Sri Baeji Raj*); if you come this way, I trust she will accompany you. For news I refer you to Deep Chund Pancholi. Asoj 6, S. 1777."

(*a*) *Huzoor* signifies *the Presence*. Such was the respectful style of the Ambar prince to the Rana; to illustrate which I shall add another letter from the same prince, though merely complementary, to the Rana.

(*b*) *Moojra* is a salutation of respect used to a superior.

"*long live the king!*" to the new puppet, the bow-string was on the neck of the contemptible Ferocksere.

The first act of the new reign (A. D. 1719) was one of conciliation towards Ajit Sing and the Rajpoots, namely, the abrogation of the *jezeya*; and the Syeds further showed their disposition to attach them by conferring the important office of *Dewan* on one of their own faith: Raj Ruttun Chuno-vasi accordingly inducted into the ministry in lieu of Enayet Oolla. Three phantoms of royalty flitted across the scene in a few months, till Rosi[illegible]un Akter, the eldest son of Buhadoor Shah, was enthroned with the title of Mahomed Shah (A. D. 1720), during whose reign of nearly thirty years the empire was completely dismembered, and its spoils with them. Persia, and Mahrattas from the south disputed meanour of the Afghan mountaineers. The haughty deSyeds disgusted all who acted with them, especially their coadjutor the Nizam,* whose talents, displayed in restoring Malwa to prosperity, entertained a dread. It was impossible to cherish any abstract loyalty for the puppets they established, and treason lost its name, when the Nizam declared for independence, which the possession of the fortresses of Aser and Boorhanpur enabled him to secure. The Rajpoots were called upon for their contingent,† and the princes of Kotah and Nirwur gallantly interposed their own retainers to cut off the Nazim from the Nerbudda, on which occasion the Kotah prince was slain. The independence of the Nazim led to that of Oude. Saadut Khan was then but the commandant of Biana, but he entered into the conspiracy to expel the Syeds, and was one of those

* Raja Jey Sing to Beharridas, the Rana's minister:—"You write that your Lord despatches money for the troops—I have no accounts thereof, put the treasure on camels and send it without delay. The Nawab Nizamool Moolk is marching rapidly from Oojein, and Jubeela Ram is coming hither, and according to accounts from Agra he has crossed at Calpee. Let the Dewan's army form a speedy junction. Make no delay; in supplies of cash every thing is included."—Bhadoon, 4th, S. 1776 (A. D. 1720).

† Letter from Raja Bukt Sing of Nagore to Beharidas, the Rana's prime minister:—"Your letter was received, and its contents made me happy. Sri *Dewan's roqqua* reached me and was understood. You tell me both the Nawabs (*Syeds*) had taken the field, that both the Maharajas attended and that your own army was about to be put in motion, for how could ancient friendships be severed? All was comprehended. But neither of the Nawabs will take the field, nor will either of the Maharajas proceed to the Dekhan; they will sit and enjoy themselves quietly in talking at home. But should by some accident the Nawabs take the field, espouse their cause; if you cling to any other you are lost: of this you will be convinced ere long, so guard yourself—*if you can wind up your own thread, don't give it to another to break*—you are wise, and can anticipate intentions. Where there is such a servant as you, that house can be in no danger."

who drew lots to assassinate the Ameer-ool Omra. The deed was put into execution on the march to reduce the Nizam, when Hyder Khan buried his poniard in the Ameer's heart. The emperor then in camp, being thus freed, returned against the Vizier, who instantly set up Ibrahim and marched against his opponents. The Rajpoots wisely remained neutral, and both armies met. The decapitation of Ruttun Chund was the signal for the battle, which was obstinate and bloody; the vizier was made prisoner, and subjected to the bowstring. For the part Saadut Khan acted in the conspiracy he was honoured with the title of Buhadoor Jung, and the government of Oude. The Rajpoot princes paid their respects to the conqueror, who confirmed the repeal of the *jezeya*, and as the reward of their neutrality the Rajas of Ambar and Jodpur, Jey Sing and Ajit, were gratified, the former with the government of the province of Agra, the last with that of Guzerat and Ajmeer, of which latter fortress he took possession. Gheerdir-das* was made governor of Malwa to oppose the Mahrattas, and the Nizam was invited from his government of Hydrabad to accept the office of the empire.

The policy of Mewar was too isolated for the times; her rules clung to forms and unsubstantial homage, while their neighbours, with more active virtue, plunged into the tortuous policy of the imperial court, and seized every opportunity to enlarge the boundaries of their states: and while Ambar appropriated to herself the royal domains almost to the Jumna; while Marwar planted her banner on the battlements of Ajmeer, dismembered Guzerat, and pushed her clans far into the desert, and even to "the world's end";† Mewar confined her ambition to the control of her ancient feudatories of Aboo, Edur, and the petty states which grew out of her. Dongerpur and Banswarra. The motive for this policy was precisely the same which had cost such sacrifices in former times; she dreaded amalgamating with the imperial court, and preferred political inferiority to the sacrifice of principle. The internal feuds of her two great clans also operated against her aggrandizement; and while the brave Suktawut, Jeit Sing, expelled the Rahtore from Edur, and subdued the wild mountaineers even to Koliwarra, the conquest was left incomplete by the jealousy of his rival, and he was recalled in the midst of his success. From these and other causes an important change took place in the internal policy of Mewar, which tended greatly to impair her energies.

* Gheerdir-das was a Nagar Brahmin, son of Jubeela Ram, the chief Secretary of Ruttun Chund.

† "*Juggut coont*" the *jigat point*, of our maps, at Dwarica, where the *Bhadails*, a branch of the Rahtores, established themselves.

To this period none of the vassals had the power to erect places of strength within their domains, which, as already stated, were not fixed, but subject to triennial change; their lands were given for subsistence, their native hills were their fortresses, and the frontier strongholds defended their families in time of invasion. As the Mogul power waned, the general defensive system was abandoned, while the predatory warfare which succeeded compelled them to stud their country with castles, in order to shelter their effects from the Mahratta and Pathan, and in later times to protect rebels.

Rana Sangram ruled eighteen years; under him Mewar was respected, and the greater portion of her lost territory was regained. His selection of Beharidas Pancholi evinced his penetration, for never had Mewar a more able or faithful minister, and numerous autograph letters of all the princes of his time attest his talent and his worth as the oracle of the period. He retained his office during three reigns: but his skill was unable to stem the tide of Mahratta invasion, which commenced on the death of Sangram.

Tradition has preserved many anecdotes of Sangram, which aid our estimate of Rajpoot character, whether in the capacity of legislators or the more retired sphere of domestic manners. They uniformly represent this Rana as a patriarchal ruler, wise, just, and inflexible,* steady in his application to business, regulating public and private expenditure, and even the sumptuary laws, which were rigidly adhered to, and on which the people still expatiate, giving homely illustrations of the contrast between them and the existing profusion. The Chohan of Kotario, one of the highest class of chieftains, had recommended an addition to the folds of the court robe, and as courtesy forbids all personal denial, his wish was assented to, and he retired to his estate pluming himself on his sovereign's aquiescence. But the Rana, sending for the minister, commanded the sequestration of two villages of Kotario, which speedily reaching the ears of the chief, he repaired to court, and begged to know the fault which had drawn upon him this mark of displeasure. "None, Raoji; but on a minute calculation I find the revenue of these two villages will just cover the expense of the superfluity of garment which obedience to your wishes will occasion me, and as every iota of my own income is appropriated, I had no other mode of innovating on our ancient costume than by making you bear the charge attending a compliance with your suggestion."

* In the dialect, "churri muzboot tha," *his rod was strong*—a familiar phrase, which might be rendered "sceptre"—a long rod with an iron spike on it, often placed before the *gadi* or throne,

It will readily be believed, that the Chohan prayed the revocation of this edict, and that he was careful for the future of violating the sumptuary laws of his sovereign.

On another occasion, from lapse of memory or want of consideration, he broke the laws he had established, and alienated a village attached to the household. Each branch had its appropriate fund, whether for the kitchen, the wardobe, the privy purse, the queens; these lands were called *thooa*, and each had its officer, or *thooa-dar*, all of whom were made accountable, for their trust to the prime minister; it was one of these he had alienated. Seated with his chiefs in the *russorah*, or banqueting-hall, there was no sugar forthcoming for the curds, which has a place in the dinner *carte* of all Rajpoots, and he chid superintendent for the omission. "*Andata*" (giver of food), replied the officer, "the minister says you have given away the village set apart for sugar."—"Just," replied the Rana, and finished his repast without further remark, and without sugar to his curds.

Another anecdote will shew his inflexibility of character, and his resistance to that species of interference in state affairs which is the bane of Asiatic governments. Sangram had recently emancipated himself from the trammels of a tedious minority, during which his mother, according to custom, acted a conspicuous part in the guardianship of her son and the state. The chieftain of Deriavud had his estate confiscated: but as the Rana never punished from passion or pardoned from weakness, none dared to plead his cause, and he remained proscribed from court during two years, when he ventured a petition to the queen-mother through the *Bindarians*,* for the reversions of the decree, accompanied with a note for two lacks of rupees,† and a liberal donation to the fair mediators. It was the daily habit of the Rana to pay his respects to his mother before dinner, and on one of these visits she introduced the Ranawut's request, and begged the restoration of the estate. It was customary, on the issue of every grant, that eight days should elapse from the mandate to the promulgation of the edict, to which eight official seals‡ were attached; but on the present occasion the Rana commanded the execution of the deed at once, and to have it ere he left the *Rawula*. On its being brought, he placed it respectfully in his mother's hands begging her to return the note to the

* The dames attendant on the queens,—the Lady Mashams of every female court in Rajasthan.

† £25,000.

‡ There were eight ministers; from this the Mahrattas had their '*usht purdhans*,' the number which formed the ministry of Rama.

Ranawut; having made this sacrifice to duty, he bowed and retired. The next day he commanded dinner an hour earlier, without the usual visit to the Rawula: all were surprised, but none so much as the queen-mother—the day passed—another came—still no visit, and to a confidential message, she received a ceremonious reply. Alarmed for the loss of her son's affections, she pondered on the cause, but could find none, except the grant—she entreated the minister's interference; he respectfully intimated that he was interdicted from the discussion of state affairs but with his sovereign—she had recourse to other expedients, which proving alike fruitless, she became sullen, punished her damsels without cause, and refused food: Sangram still remained obdurate. She talked of a pilgrimage to the Ganges, and befitting equipage and escort were commanded to attend her—the moment of departure was at hand, and yet he would not see her. She repaired by Ambar on her route to Muttra, to worship the Apollo of Vrij, when the great Raja Jey Sing (married to the Rana's sister*) advanced, and conducted her to his new city of Jeypur, and to evince his respect, "put his shoulder to the travelling litter or palkee," and promised to return with her and be a suppliant to his brother-in-law for the restoration of his regard. She made a tour of the sacred places, and on return accepted the escort of the Prince of Ambar. The laws of hospitality amongst the Rajputs are rigid: the Rana could not refuse to his guest the request for which he had left his capital: but averse to owing reconciliation to external intercession, and having done enough for the suppression of intrigue, he advanced to meet the *cortege* when within one march of Oodipur, as if to receive

* I discovered the following letter from one of the princesses of Ambar to Rana Sangram, written at this period: it is not evident in what relation she stood to him but I think she must have been his wife, and the sister of Jey Sing:

"To *Sid Sri Singram Sing*, happiness! the Cutchwaha Ranee (*queen*) writes, read her *asees* (*a*) (blessing). Here all is well; the welfare of the *Sri Dewan-ji* is desired. You are very dear to me; you are great, the son of Hindusthan; if you do not thus act, who else can? the action is worthy of you; with your house is my entire friendship. From ancient times we are the Rajpoots of your house, from which both Rajas (*b*) have had their consequence increased, and I belong to it of old, and except always to be fostered by it, nor will the Sri Dewan-ji disappoint us. My intention was to proceed to the feet of the Sri Dewan-ji, but the wet weather has prevented me; but I shall soon make my appearance."—S. 1778 (A. D. 1722).

(*a*) *Asees* is benediction, which only ladies and holy men employ in epistolary writing or in verbal compliment.

(*b*) Ambar and Marwar: this expression denotes the letter to have been written on intermarriage with the Rana's house, and shews her sense of such honour.

the Ambar prince; but proceeding direct to his mother's tents, he asked her blessing, and having escorted her to the palace, returned to greet and conduct his brother prince. All the allusion he made to the subject was in the simple but pithy expression, "family quarrels should be kept in the family."

Another anecdote shews him as the vigilant shepherd watching over the safety of his flock. As he sat down to dinner, tidings arrived of an invasion of the Malwa Pathans who had rifled several villages at Mundisore, carrying the inhabitants into captivity. Pushing the platter from him, he ordered his armour, and the nakara to beat the assemblage of his chieftains. With all speed a gallant band formed on the terrace below, but they prevailed on the Rana to leave the punishment of the desultory aggression to them, as unworthy of his personal interference. They departed: several hours after, the chief of Kanorh arrived, having left a sick bed, and with a tertian come in obedience to his sovereign's summons. Vain was his prince's dissuasion to keep him back, and he joined the band as they came up with the invaders. The foe was defeated and put to flight, but the sick chieftain fell in the charge, and his son was severely wounded by his side. On the young chief repairing to court he was honoured with a *beera** from the Rana's own hand, a distinction which he held to be an ample reward for his wounds, and testimonial of the worth of his father. The existence of such sentiments are the strongest tests of character.

On another occasion, some parasite had insinuated suspicions against the chief of the nobles, the Rawut of Saloombra, who had just returned victorious in action with the royal forces at Malwa, and had asked permission to visit his family on his way to court. The Rana spurned the suspicion, and to shew his reliance on the chief, he despatched a messenger for Saloombra to wait his arrival and summon him to the presence. He had reached his domain, given leave to his vassals as they passed their respective abodes, dismounted, and reached the door of the *Rawula*, when the herald called aloud, "the Rana salutes you, Rawut-ji, and commands this letter." With his hand on the door where his wife and children awaited him, he demanded his horse, and simply leaving his "duty for his mother," he mounted, with half a dozen attendants, nor loosed the rein until he reached the capital. It was midnight; his house empty: no servants, no dinner; but his sovereign had

* The *beera* is the beetle or pan-leaf folded up, containing aromatic spices, and presented on taking leave. The Kanorh chieftain, being of the second grade of nobles, was not entitled to the distinction of having it from the sovereign's own hand.

foreseen and provided, and when his arrival was announced provender for his cattle, and vessels of provision prepared in the royal kitchen, were immediately sent to his abode. Next morning, Umbra attended the court. The Rana was unusually gracious, and not only presented him with the usual tokens of regard, a horse and jewels, but moreover a grant of land. With surprise he asked what service he had performed to merit such distinction, and from a sentiment becoming the descendant of Chonda solemnly refused to accept it; observing, that even if he had lost his head, the reward was excessive; but if his prince would admit of his preferring a request, it would be, that in remembrance of his sovereign's favour, when he, or his, in after times, should on the summons come from their estate to the capital, the same number of dishes from the royal kitchen should be sent to his abode: it was granted, and to this day his descendants enjoy the distinction. These anecdotes paint the character of Sangram far more forcibly than any laboured effort. His reign was as honourable to himself as it was beneficial to his country, in whose defence he had fought eighteen actions; but though his policy was too circumscribed, and his country would have benefited more by a surrender of some of those antique prejudices which kept her back in the general scramble for portions of the dilapidated monarchy of the Moguls, yet he was respected abroad, was beloved by his subjects, of whose welfare he was ever watchful, and to whose wants ever indulgent. Rana Sangram was the last prince who upheld the dignity of the *gadi* of Bappa Rawul; with his death commenced Mahratta ascendancy, and with this we shall open the reign of his son and successor.

Juggut Sing II., the eldest of the four sons of Sangram, succeeded S. 1790 (A. D. 1734). The commencement of his reign was signalized by a revival of the triple alliance formed by Rana Umra, and broken by Raja Ajit's connexion with the Syeds and the renewal of matrimonial ties with the empire, the abjuration whereof was the basis of the treaty. The present engagement, which included all the minor states, was formed at Hoorlah, a town in Mewar on the Ajmeer frontier, where the confederate princes met at the head of their vassals. To insure unanimity, the Rana was invested with paramount control, and headed the forces which were to take the field after the rains, already set in.* Unity of interests was the chief character of

* Treaty.

Seal of Rana.	Agreed.	Agreed.	
Sri Eklinga. (*a*)	Vrij Adhees (*b*)	Sita Rama jeyati. (*c*)	Adhe Sing. (*d*)

the engagement, had they adhered to which, not only the independence, but the aggrandizement, of Rajasthan, was in their power, and they might have alike defied the expiring efforts of the Mogul tyranny, and the Parthian-like warfare of the Mahratta. They were indeed the most formidable power in India at this juncture; but difficult as it had ever proved to coalesce the Rajpoots for mutual preservation, even when a paramount superiority of power, both temporal and spiritual belonged to the Ranas, so now, since Ambar and Marwar had attained an equality with Mewar, it was found still less practicable to prevent the operation of the principles of disunion. In fact a moment's reflection must discover that the component parts of a great feudal federation, such as that described, must contain too many discordant particles—too many rivalries and national antipathies, ever cordially to amalgamate. Had it been otherwise, the opportunities were many and splendid for the recovery of Rajpoot freedom; but though individually enamoured of liberty, the universality of the sentiment prevented its realization: they never would submit to the control required to work it out, and this, the best opportunity which had ever occurred, was lost. A glance at the disordered fragments of the throne of Akber will shew the comparative strength of the Rajpoots.

Nizam-ool Moolk had completely emancipated himself from his allegiance, and signalized his independence, by sending the head of the imperial general, who ventured to oppose it, as that of a traitor, to the emperor. He leagued with the Rajpoots, and instigated Bajerow to plant the Mahratta standard in

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Swesta Sri! By the united chiefs the under-written has been agreed to, from which no deviation can take place. Sawun sood 13, S. 1791 (A.D. 1735), Camp Hoorlah.

1. All are united, in good and in evil, and none will withdraw therefrom, on which oaths have been made, and faith pledged, which will be lost by whoever acts contrary thereto. The honour and shame of one is that of all, and in this every thing is contained.

2. No one shall countenance the traitor of another.

3. After the rains the affair shall commence, and the chiefs of each party assemble at Rampur; and if from any cause the head cannot come, he will send his *Konwar* (heir) or some personage of weight.

4. Should from inexperience such *Konwar* commit error, the Rana alone should interfere to correct it.

5. In every enterprize, all shall unite to effect it.

(*a*) (*b*) (*c*) All these seals of Mewar, Marwar, and Ambar, bear respectively the names of the tutelary divinity of each prince and his tribe:—(*a*) Eklinga, or Mahadeva of the Seesodias of Mewar; (*b*) Vriji Adhees, the lord of Vriji, the country round Mathoora; the epithet of Chrishna; seal of the Hara prince; (*c*) Victory to Seeta and Rama, the demi-god ancestor of the princes of Ambar; (*d*) Abhe Sing, prince of Marwar.

Malwa and Guzerat. In defending the former, Dya Buhadoor fell; and Jey Sing of Ambar, being nominated to the trust, delegated it to the invader, and Malwa was lost. The extensive province of Guzerat soon shared the same fate; for in the vacillating policy of the court, the promise of that government to the Rahtores had been broken and Abhe Sing, son of Ajit, who had expelled Sirbulland Khan after a severe contest, following the example of his brother prince of Ambar, connived with the invaders, while he added its most northern districts to Marwar. In Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, Shuja ud Dowlah, and his deputy Aliverdi Khan, were supreme, and Sufdur Jung, (son of Saadut Khan) was established in Oude. The basest disloyalty marked the rise of this family, which owed everything to Mahomed Shah. It was Saadut Khan who invited Nadir Shah, whose invasion gave the final stab to the empire; and it was his son, Sufdur Jung, who, when commandant of the artillery (*meer atush*), turned it against his sovereign's place, and then conveyed it to Oude. Of the Dewans of Bengal we must speak only with reverence; but, whether they had any special dispensation, their loyalty to the descendant of Ferocksere has been very little more distinguished than that of the satraps enumerated, though the original tenure of Bengal is still apparent, and the feudal obligation to the suzerain of Delhi manifested, in the homage of "*petite serjanterie*," in transmitting with the annual fine of relief (one hundred mohurs) the spices of the eastern archipelago. Yet of all those who gloried in the title of "*fidooe padshae ghazi*," the only *slave of the victorious king* who has been generous to him in the day of his distress, is the Dewan of Bengal, better known as the English East-India Company. In the hour of triumph, they rescued the blind and aged descendant of the illustrious Baber from a state of degradation and penury, and secured to to him all the dignity and comfort which his circumstances could lead him to hope; and the present state of his family, contrasted with the thraldom and misery endured while fortune favoured the Mahratta, is splendid. Yet perhaps the most acute stroke of fortune to this fallen monarch was, when the British governor of India, lent his aid to the descendant of the rebellious Sufder Jung to mount the throne of Oude, and to assume, in lieu of the title of the vizier of the empire, that of king. We can appreciate and commiserate the feeling; for the days of power were yet too* recent for Akber sani (the second) to receive such intelligence without a shock, or without

* I have conversed with an aged Sikh who recollected the splendour of Mahomed Shah's reign before Nadir's invasion. He was *darogha* (superintendent) to the Dooab canal, and described to me the fete on its opening.

comparing his condition with him whose name he bore. It is well to pause upon this page of eastern history, which is full of instruction; since by weighing the abuses of power, and its inevitable loss through placing a large executive trust in the hands of those who exercised it without sympathy towards the governed, we may at least retard the day of our decline.

The Mahratta establishments in Malwa and Guzerat constituted a nucleous for others to form upon, and like locusts, they crossed the Nerbuda in swarms; when the Holkars, the Sindhias, the Puars, and other less familiar names, emerged from obscurity; when the plough* was deserted for the sword, and the goatherd† made a lance of his crook. They devastated, and at length settled upon, the lands of the indigenous Rajpoots. For a time, the necessity of unity made them act under one standard, and hence the vast massess under the first Bajerow, which bore down all opposition, and afterwards dispersed themselves over those long-oppressed regions. It was in A.D. 1735 that he first crossed the Chumbul‡ and appeared before Delhi, which he blockaded, when his retreat was purchased by the surrender of the *chouth* or fourth of the gross revenues of the empire. The Nizam, dreading the influence such pusillanimous concession might exert upon his rising power determined to drive the Mahrattas from Malwa, where, if once fixed, they would cut off his communications with the north. He accordingly invaded Malwa, defeated Bajerow in a pitched battle, and was only prevented from following it up by Nadir Shah's advance, facilitated by the Afghans, who, on becoming independent in Cabul, laid open the frontiers of Hindusthan.§ In this emergency "great hopes were placed on the valour of the Rajpoots;" but the spirit of devotion in this brave race, by whose aid the Mogul power was made and maintained, was irretrievably alienated, and not one of those high families, who had throughout been so lavish of their blood in its defence, would obey the summons to the royal standard, when the fate of India was decided on the plains of Kurnal. A sense of individual danger brought together the great home feudatories, when the Nizam and Saadut Khan (now Vizier) united their forces under the imperial commander: but their demoralized levies were no match for the Persian and the northern mountaineer. The Ameer-ool Omra was slain, the Vizier made prisoner, and Mahomed Shah and his kingdom

* Sindhia's family were husbandmen.
† Holkar was a goatherd.
‡ The ford near Dhalpur is still called Bhow-ghat.
§ A.D. 1740.

were at Nadir's disposal. The disloyalty of the Vizier filled the capital with blood, and subjected his sovereign to the condition of a captive. Jealous of the Nizam, whose diplomatic success had obtained him the office of Ameer-ool Omra, he stimulated the avarice of the conqueror by exaggerating the riches of Delhi, and declared that he alone could furnish the ransom negociated by the Nizam. Nadir's love of gold overpowered his principle; the treaty was broken, the keys of Delhi were demanded, and its humiliated emperor was led in triumph through the camp of the conqueror, who, on the 8th March A.D. 1740, took possession of the palace of Timur, and coined money bearing this legend:

"King over the kings of the world.
"Is Nadir, king of kings, and lord of the period."

The accumulated wealth of India contained in the royal treasury, notwithstanding the lavish expenditure during the civil wars, and the profuse rewards scattered by each competitor for dominion, was yet sufficient to gratify even avarice itself, amounting in gold, jewels, and plate, to forty millions sterling, exclusive of equipages of every denomination. But this enormous spoil only kindled instead of satiating the appetite of Nadir, and a fine of two millions and a half was exacted, and levied with such unrelenting rigour and cruelty on the inhabitants, that man of rank and character could find no means of escape but by suicide. A rumour of this monster's death excited an insurrection, in which several Persians were killed. The provocation was not lost: the conqueror ascended a mosque,* and commanded a general massacre, in which thousands were slain. Pillage accompanied murder; whilst the streets streamed with blood the city was fired, and the dead were consumed in the conflagration of their late habitations. If a single ray of satisfaction could be felt, amidst such a scene of horror, it must have been when Nadir commanded the minister of the wretch who was the author of this atrocity the infamous Saadut khan, to send, on pain of death, an inventory of his own and his master's wealth; demanding meanwhile the two millions and a half the original composition settled by the Nizam, from the Vizier alone. Whether his coward "conscience" was alarmed at the mischief he had occasioned, or mortification at discovering that his ambition had o'erleaped "itself," and recoiled with vengeance on his own head, tempted the act, it is impossible to discover, but the guilty Saadut became his own executioner. He swallowed

* It is yet pointed out to the visitor of this famed city.

poison ; an example followed by his Dewan, Raja Mujlis Rae, in order to escape the rage of the offended Nadir. By the new treaty, all the western provinces, Cabul, Tatta, Sinde, and Mooltan, were surrendered and united to Persia, and on the vernal equinox, Nadir, gorged with spoil, commenced his march, from the desolated Delhi.* The philosophic comment of the Native historian on these events is so just, that we shall transcribe it verbatim. "The people of Hindusthan at this period thought only of personal safety and gratification ; misery was disregarded by those who escaped it, and man, centred wholly in self, felt not for his kind. This selfishness, destructive of public and private virtue, was universal in Hindusthan at the invasion of Nadir Shah ; nor have the people become more virtuous since, and consequently neither more happy nor more independent."

At this eventful era in the political history of India, the Rajpoot nation had not only maintained their ground amidst the convulsions of six centuries under the paramount sway of the Islamite, but two of the three chief states, Marwar and Ambar, had by policy and valour created substantial states

* As the hour of departure approached, the cruelties of the ruthless invaders increased, to which the words of the narrator, an eye-witness, can alone do justice : "a type of the last day afflicted the inhabitants of this once happy city ; hitherto it was a general massacre, but now came the murder of individuals. In every house was heard the cry of affliction. Bussunt Rae, agent for pensions, killed his family and himself ; Khalikyar Khan stabbed himself ; many took poison, the venerable chief magistrate was dishonoured by stripes ; sleep and rest forsook the city. The officers of the court were beaten without mercy, and a fire broke out in the imperial *ferash-khana*, and destroyed effects to the amount of a crore (a million sterling). There was a scarcity of grain, two seers of coarse rice sold for a Rupee, and from a pestilential disorder crowds died daily in every street and lane. The inhabitants, like the affrighted animals of the desert, sought refuge in the most concealed corners. Yet four or five crores (millions) more were thus extracted." On the 5th April, Nadir's seals were taken off the imperial repositories, and his firmans sent to all the feudatories of the empire to notify the peace and to inculcate obedience *"to his dear brother,"* which as a specimen of eastern diplomatic phraseology is worth insertion. It was addressed to the Rana, the Rajas of Marwar and Ambar, Nagore, Sitarra, the Peshwa Bajerow, &c. "Between us and our dear brother, Mahomed Shah, in consideration of the regard and alliances of the two sovereignties, the connections of regard and friendship have been renewed, so that we may be esteemed as one soul in two bodies. Now our dear brother has been replaced on the throne of this extensive empire, and we are moving to the conquest of other regions, it is incumbent that ye like your forefathers, walk in the path of submission and obedience to our dear brother, as they did to former sovereigns of the house of Timoor. God forbid it ; but if accounts of your rebelling should reach our ears, we will blot you out of the pages of the book of creation."—*Memoirs of Fradut Khan.*—Scott's History of Dekhan, vol. ii, page 213.

out of petty principalities, junior branches* from which had established their independence, and still enjoy it under treaty with the British Government. Mewar at this juncture was defined by nearly the same boundaries as when Mahmood of Ghizni invaded her in the tenth century, though her influence over many of her tributaries, as Boondi, Aboo, Edur, and Deola, was destroyed. To the west, the fertile district of Godwar carried her beyond her natural barrier, the Aravali, into the desert; while the Chumbul was her limit to the east. The Khary separated her from Ajmeer, and to the south she adjoined Malwa. These limits comprehended one hundred and thirty miles of latitude and one hundred and forty of longitude, containing 10,000 towns and villages, with upwards of a million sterling of revenue, raised from a fertile soil by an excellent agricultural population, a wealthy mercantile community, and defended by a devoted vassalage. Such was this little patriarchal state after the protracted strife which has been related; we shall have to exhibit her, in less than half a century, on the verge of annihilation from the predatory inroads of the Mahrattas.

In order to mark with exactitude the introduction of the Mahrattas into Rajasthan, we must revert to the period† when the dastardly intrigues of the advisers of Mahomed Shah surrendered to them as tribute the *chouth*, or fourth of his revenues. Whether in the full tide of successful invasion, these spoilers deemed any other argument than force to be requisite in order to justify their extortions, they had in this surrender a concession of which the subtle Mahrattas were well capable of availing themselves; and as the Mogul claimed sovereignty over the whole of Rajasthan, they might plausibly urge their right of *chouth*, as applicable to all the territories subordinate to the empire.

The rapidity with which these desultory bands flew from conquest to conquest appears to have alarmed the Rajpoots, and again brought about a coalition, which, with the characteristic peculiarity of all such contracts, was commenced by matrimonial alliances. On this occasion, Beejy Sing, the heir of Marwar, was affianced to the Rana's daughter, who at the same time reconciled the princes of Marwar and Ambar whose position at the court of the Mogul often brought their national jealousies into conflict, as they alternately took the lead in his councils; for it was rare to find both in the same line of

* Bikaneer and Kishengurh arose out of Marwar, and Macheri from Ambar.—to which we might add Shikhavati, which though not separate, is tributary to Ambar, (now Jeypur).

† A. D. 1735.

politics. These matters were arranged at Oodipur.* But, as we have often had occasion to observe, no public or general benefit ever resulted from these alliances, which were obstructed by the multitude of petty jealousies inseparable from clanship ;

* These documents are interesting, if merely shewing the high respect paid by every Rajpoot prince to the Ranas of Mewar, and illustrating what is recorded in the reign of Pertap, who abjured all intercourse with them.

No. 1.

"From Konwar Beejy Sing of Marwar to the Mah-Rana Sri-Sri-Sri.

"Juggut sing's *presence*—let my moojra (obedience) be known. You honoured me by sending Rawut Kesuri Sing and Behari-das, and commanding a marriage connection. Your orders are on your child's head. You have made me a servant. To everything I am agreed, and now I am your child ; while I live I am yours. If a true Rajpoot, my head is at your disposal. You have made 20000 Rahtores your servants. If I fail in this, the almighty is between us. Whoever is of my blood will obey your commands, and the *fruit of this marriage shall be sovereign, and if a daughter, should I bestow her on the Toorkana, I am no true Rajpoot.* She shall be married to a proper connection, and not without your advice ; and even, should *Sri Bhahoji* (an ephithet of respect to his father), or others of our elders, recommend such proceeding, I swear by God I shall not agree. I am the Dewan, let others approve or disapprove.—Assar Sood Poonum, Full Moon, Thursday, S. 1791 (A. D. 1735-6)."

"N. B. This deed was executed in the balcony of the Kishen-bulas by Rawut Kesuri Sing and Pancholi Behari-das, and written by Pancholi Laljee—*viz.* marriage-deed of Konwar Beejy Sing, son of Bhukt Sing."

No. 2.

"From Beejy Sing to the Rana Juggut Sing.

"Here all is well. Preserve your friendship and favour for me, and give me tidings of your welfare. That day I shall behold you will be without price (*amoluc*) *You have made me a thorough Rajpoot*—never shall I fail in whatever service I can perform. You are the father of all the tribes and bestow gifts on each according to his worth—the support and preservation of all around you—to your enemy destruction ; great in knowledge, and wise like Bramha. May the Lord of the world keep the Rana happy.—Asar 13."

No. 3.

"Raja Bhukt Sing to the Rana.

To Mahrana Sri-Sri-Sri Juggut Sing, let Bhukt Sing's respects (*moojra*) be made known. *You have made me a thorough Rajpoot*, and by such your favour is known to the world. What service I can perform, you will never find me backward. The day I shall see you I shall be happy, my heart yearns to be with you —Asar 11."

No. 4.

Sawaie Jey Sing to the Rana.

May the respects of Sawaie Jey Sing be known to the Mahrana. According to the Sri Dewan's *command* (*hooqm*), I have entered into terms of friendship with you (Abhi Sing of Marwar). For neither Hindu nor Mussulman shall I swerve therefrom. To this engagement God is between us ; and the Sri Dewan-ji is witness.—Asar Sood 7."

even while this treaty was in discussion, the fruit of the triple league formed against the tyranny of Arungzebe was about to shew its beneful influence, as will presently appear.

When Malwa was acquired by the Mahrattas, followed by the cession of the *chouth*, their leader, Bajerow,' repaired to Mewar, where his visit created great alarm.* The Rana desired

No. 5.

Raja Bhukt Sing to the Rana.

Your *Khas roqqua* (note in the Rana's own hand) I received, read, and was happy. Jey Sing's engagement you will have received, and mine also will have reached you. At your commands I entered into friendship with him, and as to my preserving it have no doubts, for having given you as my guarantee, no deviation can occur ; do you secure his. Whether you may be accounted my father, brother, or friend, I am yours ; besides you. I care for neither connection nor kin—Asar 6."

No. 6.

"From Raja Abhi Sing to the Rana.

"To the Presence of Mahrana Juggut Sing, Mahraja Abhi Sing writes —read his respects *(moojra.)* God is witness to our engagement, whoever breaks it may he fare ill. In good and in evil we are joined ; with one mind let us remain united, and let no selfishness disunite us. Your chiefs are witnesses, and the true Rajpoot will not deviate from his engagement.—Asoj 3d, Thursday."

Abhi Sing and Bhukt Sing were brothers, sons of Raja Ajit of Marwar, to whom the former succeeded, while Bhukt Sing held Nagore independently. His son was Beejy Sing, with whom this marriage was contracted. He ultimately succeeded to the government of Marwar or Jodpur. We will add another example of political expediency counteracting common gratitude, in seizing on domestic convulsions to deprive the Rana's grandson of the province of Godwar. Zalim Sing was the fruit of this marriage, who resided during his elder brother's (Futteh Sing's) lifetime at Oodipur. He was brave, amiable, and a distinguished poet. The *Yati* (priest), who attended me during twelve years, my assistant in these researches, was brought up under the eye of this prince as his amanuensis, and from him he imbibed his love of history and poetry, in reading which he excelled all the bards of Rajwarra.

* Letter from Rana Juggut Sing to Behari-das Pancholi.

No. 1.

"Swesta Sri, chief of ministers, Pancholi-ji, read my *Johar* (*a*). The remembrance of you never leaves me. The Dekhany question you have settled well, but if a meeting is to take place, (*b*) let it be beyond Deola—nearer is not advisable. Lessen the number of your troops, by God's blessing there will be no want of funds. Settle for Rampura according to the preceding year, and let Dowlut Sing know the opportunity will not occur again. The royal mother is unwell. Garrarow and Guj Manik fought nobly, and Soondur Guj played a thousand pranks. (*c*) I regretted your absence. How shall I send Sobharam ? Asoj 6, S. 1791 (A. D. 1735)."

(*a*). A compliment used from a superior to any inferior.

(*b*). To the Peshwa is the allusion.

(*c*). As the Rana never expected his confidential notes to be translated

to avoid a personal interview, and sent as his ambassadors, the chief of Saloombra and his prime-minister, Beharridas. Long discussions followed as to the mode of Bajerow's reception, which was settled to be on the same footing as the Raja of

No 2.—*To the same.*

"I will not credit it, therefore send witnesses and a detail of their demands. Bajerow is come, and he will derive reputation from having compelled a contribution from me, besides his demand of land. He has commenced with my country, and will take twenty times more from me than other Rajas—if a proportionate demand, it might be complied with. Mulhar came last year, but this was nothing—Bajerow this, and he is powerful. But if God hears me he will not get my land. From Davichund learn particulars.

Thursday, S. 1792.

"At the *Holi* all was joy at the Jugmundur, (*a*) but what is food without salt? what Oodipur without Behari-das?"

No. 3.—*Same to the Same*

"With such a man as you in my house I have no fears for its stability; but why this appearance of poverty? perhaps you will ask, what fault have you committed? that you sit and move as I direct. The matter is thus: money is all in all, and the troubles on foot can only be settled by you, and all other resolutions are useless. You may say, you have got nothing, and how can you settle them—but already two or three difficulties have occurred, in getting out of which, both your pinions and mine, as to veracity, have been broken, so that neither scheming nor wisdom is any longer available. Though you have been removed from me for some time, I have always considered you at hand; but now it will be well if you approach nearer to me, that we may raise supplies, for in the act of hiding you are celebrated, and the son (*b*) (*beta*) hides none: therefore your hoarding is useless, and begets suspicions. Therefore unless you have a mind to efface all regard for your master and your own importance at my court, you will get ready some jewels and bonds under good security and bring them to me. There is no way but this to allay these troubles; but should you think you have got ever so much time, and that I will send for you at all events, then have I thrown away mine in writing you this letter. You are wise—look to the future, and be assured I shall write no second letter.—S. 1792."

This letter will shew that the office of Prime-minister is not a bed of roses. The immediate descendants of Beharri-das are in poverty like their prince, though some distant branches of the family are in situations of trust; his ambassador to Delhi, and who subsequently remained with me as medium of communication with the Rana, was a worthy and able man—Kishen-das Rancholi.

I shall subjoin another letter from the Sittara prince to Rana Juggut Sing, though being without date it is doubtful whether it is not addressed

into English, perhaps it is illiberal to be severe on them; or we might say, his elephants are mentioned more *con amore* than his sick mother or state affairs. I obtained many hundreds of these autograph notes of this prince to his prime minister.

(*a*) The Hindu saturnalia held in the island, "*the Minster of the world.*"

(*b*) The Rana always styled him 'father.'

Bunera,* and that he should be seated in front of the throne. A treaty followed, stipulating an annual tribute, which remained in force during ten years,† when grasping at the whole they despised a part, and the treaty became a nullity.‡ The dissensions which arose soon after, in consequence of the Rajpoot engagements, afforded the opportunity sought for to mix in their internal concerns. It may be recollected that in the family engagements formed by Rana Umra there was an obligation to invest the issue of such marriage with the rights of primogeniture; and the death of Sawaie Jey Sing§ of Ambar, two years after Nadir's invasion, brought that stipulation into effect. His eldest son, Esuri Sing, was proclaimed

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to Juggut Sing the First; this is however unimportant, as it is merely one of compliment, but shewing the high respect paid by the sovereign of the Peshwas to the house whence they originally sprung.

"Swesta Sri, worthy of all praise (*apma*), from whose actions credit results; the worshipper of the remover of troubles; the ambrosia of the ocean of the Rajpoot race (*a*) (*imrita rutnacara khetri cula*); resplendent as the sun; who has made a river of tears from the eyes of the wives of your warlike foes; in deeds munificent. *Sriman Maharaja dheraj Maharana Sri Juggut Sing-ji*, of all the princes chief, *Sriman Sahoo Chuthurpati Raja* writes, read his Ram, Ram! Here all is well; honour me by good accounts, which I am always expecting, as the source of happiness.

Your favour was received by the Pundit Purdhan (*b*) with great respect; and from the period of the arrival of Raj Sri Rawut Oody Sing to this time my good-will has been increasing towards him: let your favour between us be enlarged: what more can I write?"

* The descendant of Bheem, son of Rana Raj Sing. The seat assigned to Bajerow was made the precedent for the position of the representative of the British government.

† The amount was, 1,60,000 rupees, divided into three shares of 53,333 0 4½, assigned to Holkar, Sindhia, and the Puar. The management was entrusted to Holkar; subsequently Sindhia acted as receiver-general. This was the only regular tributary engagement Mewar entered into.

‡ See letter No. 2, in note, page 439.

§ A. D. 1743.

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a) The ocean has the poetical appellation of *rutnacara*, or "house of gems:" the fable of the churning of the ocean is well known, when were yielded many bounties, of which the *imrita* or 'immortal food' of the gods was one, to which the Rana, as head of all the Rajpoot tribes, is likened.

(*b*) This expression induces the belief that the letter is written by the Peshwa in his sovereign's name as they had at this time commenced their usurpation of his power. It was to the second Juggut Sing that an offer was made to fill the Sitarra throne by a branch of his family, then occupied by an imbecile. A younger brother of the Rana, the ancestor of the present heir presumptive, Sheodan Sing, was chosen, but intrigues prevented it, the Rana dreading a superior from his own family.

Raja, but a strong party supported Madhu Sing, the Rana's nephew, and the stipulated, against the natural order of succession. We are left in doubt as to the real designs of Jey Sing in maintaining his guarantee, which was doubtless inconvenient; but that Madhu Sing was not brought up to the expectation is evident, from his holding a fief of the Rana Sangram, who appropriated the domain of Rampura for his support, subject to the service of one thousand horse and two thousand foot, formally sanctioned by his father, who allowed the transfer of his services. On the other hand, the letter of permission entitles him *Cheema*, an epithet only applied to the heir-apparent of Jeypur. Five years however elapsed before any extraordinary exertions were made to annul the rights of Esuri Sing, who led his vassals to the Sutledge in order to oppose the first invasion of the Dooranees.* It would be tedious to give even an epitome of the intrigues for the development of this object, which properly belong to the annals of Ambar, and whence resulted many of the troubles of Rajpootana. The Rana took the field with his nephew, and was met by Esuri Sing,† supported by the Mahrattas; but the Seesodias did not evince in the battle of Rajmahal that gallantry which must have its source in moral strength: they were defeated and fled. The Rana vented his indignation in a galling sarcasm; he gave the sword of state to a common courtezan to carry in procession, observing "it was a woman's weapon in these degenerate times:" a remark, the degrading severity of which made a lasting impression in the decline of Mewar. Elated with this success, Esuri Sing carried his resentments and his auxiliaries, under Sindhia, against the Haras of Kotah and Boondi, who supported the cause of his antagonist. Kotah stood a seige and was gallantly defended, and Sindhia, (Appajee) lost an arm: on this occasion both the states suffered a diminution of territory, and were subjected to tribute. The Rana, following the example of the Cutchwahas, called in as auxiliary Mulhar Rao Holkar, and engaged to pay sixty-four lacks of rupees (£800,000) on the deposal of Esuri Sing. To avoid degradation this unfortunate prince resolved on suicide, and a dose of poison gave Madhu Sing the *gadi*, Holkar his bribe, and the Mahrattas a firm hold upon Rajasthan. Such was the cause of Rajpoot abasement: the moral force of the vassals was lost in a contest unjust in all its associations, and from this period we have only the degrading spectacle of civil strife and predatory spoliation till the existing treaty of A.D. 1817.

* A. D, 1747.

† The great Jey Sing built a city which he called after himself, and henceforth Jeypur will supersede the ancient appellation, Ambar.

In S. 1808 (A.D. 1752) Rana Juggut Sing died. Addicted to pleasure, his habits of levity and profusion totally unfitted him for the task of governing his country at such a juncture; he considered his elephant fights* of more importance than keeping down the Mahrattas. Like all his family, he patronized the arts, greatly enlarged the palace, and expended £250,000 in embellishing the islets of the Peshola. The villas scattered over the valley were all erected by him, and many of those festivals devoted to idleness and dissipation, and now firmly rooted at Oodipur, were instituted by Juggut Sing II.

CHAPTER XVI.

Rana Pertap II.—Rana Raj Sing II.—Rana Ursi.—Holkar invades Mewar, and levies Contributions.—Rebellion to depose the Rana.—A Pretender set up by the Rebel Chiefs.—Zalim Sing of Kotah.—The Pretender unites with Sindhia.—Their combined Force attacked by the Rana, who is defeated.—Sindhia invades Mewar and besieges Oodipur.—Umra Chund made Minister by the Rana—his noble conduct—negociates with Sindhia, who withdraws.—Loss of Territory to Mewar —Rebel Chiefs return to their Allegiance.—Province of Godwar lost.—Assassination of the Rana.—Rana Hamir succeeds.—Contentions between the Queen Regent and Umra. —His noble Conduct, Death, and Character.—Diminution of the Mewar Territory.

PERTAP II. succeeded in A.D. 1752. Of the history of this prince, who renewed the most illustrious name in the annals of Mewar, there is nothing to record beyond the fact, that the three years he occupied the throne were marked by so many Mahratta invasions† and war contributions. By a daughter of Raja Jey Sing of Ambar he had a son, who succeeded him.

RANA RAJ SING II. was as little entitled to the name he bore as his predecessor. During the seven years he held the dignity, at least seven shoals of the Southrons overran Mewar,‡

* See letters from Rana Juggut Sing to Beharri-das, p. 438.

† The leaders of these invasions were Sutwaji, Jankoji and Ragunaut Rao.

‡ In S. 1812, Raja Buhadoor; in 1813, Mulhar Rao Holkar and Vitul Rao; in 1814, Ranaji Boortea: in 1813 *three* war contributions were levied, *viz.* by Sudasheo Rao, Govind Rao, and Kunaje Jadoon.

and so exhausted this country, that the Rana was compelled to ask pecuniary aid from the Brahmin collector of the tribute, to enable him to marry the Rahtore chieftan's daughter. On his death the order of succession retrograded, devolving on his uncle.

RANA URSI in S. 1818, A.D. 1762. The levity of Juggut Sing, the inexperience of his successors Pertap and Raj Sing, with the ungovernable temper of Rana Ursi, and the circumstances under which he succeeded to power, introduced a train of disorders which proved fatal to Mewar. Until this period not a foot of territory had been alienated. The wisdom of the Pancholi ministers, and the high respect paid by the organ of the Sitarra government, for a while preserved its integrity; but when the country was divided by factions, and the Mahrattas, ceasing to be a federate body, prowled in search of prey under leaders, each having an interest of his own, they formed political combinations to suit the ephemeral purposes of the former, but from which they alone reaped advantage. An attempt to depose Pertap and set up his uncle Nathji introduced a series of rebellions, and constituted Mulhar Rao Holkar, who had already become master of a considerable portion of the domain of Mewar, the umpire in their family disputes.

The ties of blood or of princely gratitude are feeble bonds if political expediency demands their dissolution; and Madhu Sing, when firmly established on the throne of Amber, repaid the immense sacrifices by which the Rana had effected it by assigning his fief of Rampura, which he had not a shadow of right to alienate, to Holkar: this was the first limb severed from Mewar.* Holkar had also become the assignee of the tribute imposed by Bajerow, but from which the Rana justly deemed himself exempt, when the terms of all further encroachment in Mewar were set at nought. On the plea of recovering these arrears, and the rent of some districts† on the Chumbul, Mulhar, after many threatening letters, invaded Mewar, and his threats of occupying the capital were only checked by draining their exhausted resources of six hundred thousand pounds.‡ In the same year§ a famine afflicted

* This was in S. 1808 (A. D. 1752); portions, however, remained attached to the fisc of Mewar for several years, besides a considerable part of the feudal lands of the Chanderawut chief of Amud. Of the former, the Rana retained Hinglazgurh and the Tuppas of Jarda Kinjerra, and Boodsoo. These were surrendered by Raj Sing, who rented Boodsoo under its new appellation of Mulhargurh.

† Boodsoo, &c.

‡ Holkar advanced as far as Ontala, where Urjoon Sing of Korabur and the Rana's foster-brothers met him, and negotiated the payment of fifty one lacs of rupees.

§ S. 1820, A. D. 1764.

them, when flour and tamarinds were equal in value, and were sold at the rate of a rupee for one pound and a half. Four years subsequent to this, civil war broke out and continued to influence all posterior proceedings, rendering the inhabitants of this unhappy country a prey to every invader until 1818, when they tasted repose under British protection.

The real cause of this rebellion must ever remain a secret; for while some regard it as a partriotic effort on the part of the people to redeem themselves from foreign domination, others discover its motive in the selfishness of the hostile clans, who supported or opposed the succession of Rana Ursi. This prince is accused of having unfairly acquired the crown, by the removal of his nephew Raj Sing; but though the traditional anecdotes of the period furnish strong grounds of suspicion, there is nothing which affords a direct confirmation of the crime. It is, however, a public misfortune when the line of succession retrogrades in Mewar; Ursi had no right to expect the inheritance he obtained, having long held a seat below the sixteen chief nobles; and as one of the 'infants' (*babas*) he was incorporated with the second class of nobles with an appanage of only £3,000 per annum. His defects of character had been too closely contemplated by his compeers, and had kindled too many enmities, to justify expectation that the adventitious dignity he had attained would succeed in obliterating the memory of them; and past familiarity alone destroyed the respect which was exacted by sudden greatness. His insolent demeanour estranged the first of the home nobility, the Sadri chieftain,* whose ancestor at Huldighat acquired a claim to the perpetual gratitude of the Seesodias, while to an unfeeling pun on a personal defect of Jeswunt Sing of Deogurh is attributed the hatred and revenge of this powerful branch of the Chondawuts. These chiefs formed a

* An autograph letter of this chief's to the minister of the day I obtained, with other public documents, from the descendant of the Pancholi:

"To Jeswunt Rao Pancholi, Raj Rinna Raghoodeo writes. After compliments. I received your letter—from old times you have been my friend, and have ever maintained faith towards me, for I am of the loyal to the Rana's house. I conceal nothing from you, therefore I write that my heart is averse to longer service, and it is my purpose in Asar to go to *Gya*. (*a*) When I mentioned this to the Rana, he sarcastically told me I might go to *Dwarica*. (*b*) If I stay, the Rana will restore the villages in my fief, as during the time of Jaetji. My ancestors have performed good service, and I have served since I was fourteen. If the Durbar intends me any favour, this is the time."

(*a*) Gya is esteemed the proper pilgrimage for the Rajpoots.
(*b*) Dwarica, the resort for religious and unwarlike tribes.

party which eventually entrained many of lesser note to depose their sovereign, and immediately set up a youth called Rutna Sing, declared to be the posthumous son of the last Rana by the daughter of the chief of Gogoonda, though to this hour disputes run high as to whether he was really the son of Raj Sing, or merely the puppet of a faction. Be the fact as it may, he made a rallying point for the disaffected, who soon comprehended the greater portion of the nobles, while out of the 'sixteen' greater chiefs five* only withsood the defection: of these, Saloombra, the hereditary premier, at first espoused, but soon abandoned, the cause of the pretender; not from the principle of loyalty which (his descendant take credit for, but from finding the superiority of intellect of the heads of the rebellion† (which now counted the rival Suktawuts) too powerful for the supremacy he desired. Bussut Pal, of the Depra tribe, was invested with the office of *Purdhan* to the Pretender. The ancestor of this man accompanied Samarsi in the twelfth century from Delhi, where he held a high office in the household of Prithwi Raj, the last emperor of the Hindus, and it is a distinguished proof of the hereditary quality of official dignity to find his descendant, after the lapse of centuries still holding office with the nominal title of Purdhan. The *Fitoori*,‡ (by which name the court still designates the Pretender), took post with his faction in Komulmeer; where he was formally installed, and whence he promulgated his decrees as Rana of Mewar. With that heedlessness of consequences and the political debasement which are invariable concomitants of civil dissention, they had the meanness to invite Sindhia to their aid, with a promise of a reward of more than one million sterling § on the dethronement of Ursi.

This contest first brought into notice one of the most celebrated Rajpoot chiefs of India, Zalim Sing of Kotah, who was destined to fill a distinguished part in the annals of Rajasthan, but more specially in Mewar, where his political sagacity first developed itself. Though this is not the proper place to delineate his history, which will occupy a subsequent portion of the work, it is imposible to trace the events with which he was so closely connected without adverting slightly to the part he acted in these scenes. The attack on Kotah, of which his father was military governor (during the struggle to place

* Saloombra (*Chondawut*), Bijolli, Amait, Ganora, and Bednore.

† Bheendir (*Suktawut*), Deogurh, Sadri, Gogoonda, Dailwarra, Baidla, Kotario, and Kanorh.

‡ Agitator, or disturber.

§ One crore and twenty-five lacs.

Madhu Sing on the throne of Ambar,) by Esuri Sing, in conjunction with Sindhia, was the first avenue to his distinguished career, leading to an acquaintance with the Mahratta chiefs, which linked him with their policy for more than half a century. Zalim having lost his prince's favour, whose path in love he had dared to cross, repaired, on his banishment from Kotah, to the Rana, who, observing his talents, enrolled him amongst his chiefs, and conferred on him, with the title of Raj Rinna, the lands of Cheeturkhaira for his support. By his advice the Mahratta leaders Raghoo Paigawalla and Dowla Meea, with their bands, were called in by the Rana who, setting aside the ancient Pancholi ministry, gave the seals of office to Ugguriji Mehta. At this period (S. 1824, A. D. 1768), Madhaji Sindhia was at Oojein, whither the conflicting parties hastened, each desirous of obtaining this chieftain's support. But the Pretender's proposals had been already entertained, and he was then encamped with Sindhia, on the banks of the Sippra.

The Rana's force, conducted by the chief of Saloombra, the Rajas of Shapura and Bunera, with Zalim Sing and the Mahratta auxiliaries, did not hesitate to attack the combined camp, and for a moment they were victorious, driving Madhaji and the Pretender from the field, with great loss, to the gates of Oojein. Here, however, they rallied, and being joined by a fresh body of troops, the battle was renewed with great disadvantage to the Rajpoots, who, deeming the day theirs, had broken and dispersed to plunder. The chiefs of Saloombra, Shapura, and Bunera were slain, and the auxiliary Dowla Meea, Raja Maun (ex-prince of Nirwur), and Raj Kullian, the heir of Sadri, severely wounded. Zalim Sing had his horse killed under him, and being left wounded on the field, was made prisoner, but hospitably treated by Trimbuck Rao, father to the celebrated Umbaji. The discomfited troops retreated to Oodipur, while the Pretender's party remained with Sindhia, inciting him to invest that capital and place Rutna on the throne. Some time, however, elapsed before he could carry this design into execution; when, at the head of a large force, the Mahratta chief gained the passes and besieged the city. The Rana's cause now appeared hopeless. Bheem Sing of Saloombra, uncle and successor to the chief slain at Oojein, with the Rahtore chief of Bendore (descendant of Jeimul), were the only nobles of high rank who defended their prince and capital in this emergency; but the energies of an individual saved both.

Umra Chund Burwa, of the mercantile class, had held office in the preceding reigns, when his influence retarded the progress of evils which no human means could avert. He was

now displaced, and little solicitous of recovering his transient power, amidst hourly increasing difficulties, with a stubborn and unpopular prince, a divided aristocracy, and an impoverished country. He was aware also of his own imperious temper, which was as ungovernable as his sovereign's, and which experienced no check from the minor Pertap, who regarded him as his father. During the ten years he had been out of office, mercenaries of Sindh had been entertained and established on the forfeited lands of the clans, perpetuating discontent and stifling every latent spark of patriotism. Even those who did not join the Pretender remained sullenly at their castles, and thus all confidence was annihilated. A casual incident brought Umra forward at this critical juncture. Oodipur had neither ditch nor walls equal to its defence. Ursi was engaged in fortifying Eklingurh, a lofty hill south of the city, which it commanded, and attempting to place thereon an enormous piece of ordnance, but it baffled their mechanical skill to get it over the craggy ascent. Umra happened to be present when the Rana arrived to inspect the proceedings. Excuses were made to avert his displeasure, when turning to the ex-minister, he inquired what time and expense ought to attend the completion of such an undertaking. The reply was, "a few rations of grain and some days:" and he offered to accomplish the task, on condition that his orders should be supreme in the valley during its performance. He collected the whole working population, cut a road, and in a few days gave the Rana a salute from Eklingurh. The foster-brother of the Rana had succeeded the Jhala chieftain, Raghoo Deo, in the ministerial functions. The city was now closely invested on every side but the west, where communications were still kept open by the lake, across which the faithful mountaineers of the Aravali, who in similar dangers never failed, supplied them with provisions. All defence rested on the fidelity of the mercenary Sindhies, and they were at this very moment insolent in their clamours for arrears of pay. Nor were the indecisive measures daily passing before their eyes calculated to augment their respect, or stimulate their courage. Not satisfied with demands, they had the audacity to seize the Rana by the skirt of his robe as he entered the palace, which was torn in the effort to detain him. The haughtiness of his temper gave away to this humiliating proof of the hopelessness of his condition; and while the *Dhabhae* (foster-brother) counselled escape by water to the mountains, whence he might gain Mandelgurh, the Saloombra chief confessed his inability to offer any advice save that of recourse to Umra Chund. He was summoned, and the uncontrolled charge of their desperate affairs offered to his

guidance. He replied that it was a task of which no man could be covetous, more especially himself, whose administration had formerly been marked by the banishment of corruption and disorder, for that he must now call in the aid of these vices, and assimilate the means to the times. "You know also," he added, "my defect of temper, which admits of no control. Wherever I am, I must be absolute—no secret advisers, no counteraction of measures. With finances ruined, troops mutinous, provisions expended, if you desire me to act, swear that no order, whatever its purport, shall be countermanded, and I may try what can be done:—but recollect, Umra, 'the just,' will be the unjust, and reverse his former character." The Rana pledged himself by the patron deity to comply with all his demands, adding this forcible expression: "Should you even send to the queen's apartment and demand her necklace or *nutna*,* it shall be granted." The advice of the *Dhabhae* encountered the full flood of Umra's wrath. "The counsel is such as might be expected from your condition. What will preserve your prince at Mandelgurh if he flies from Oodipur, and what hidden resources have you there for your support? The project would suit you, who might resume your original occupation of tending buffaloes and selling milk, more adapted to your birth and understanding than state affairs; but these pursuits your prince has yet to learn." The Rana and his chiefs bent their heads at the bold bearing of Umra. Descending to the terrace, where the Sindhie leaders and their bands were assembled, he commanded them to follow him, exclaiming, "look to me for your arrears, and as for your services, it will be my fault if you fail." The mutineers, who had just insulted their sovereign, rose without reply, and in a body left the palace with Umra, who calculated their arrears and promised payment the next day. Meanwhile he commanded the *bundars* (repositories) to be broken open, as the keeper of each fled when the keys of their trust were demanded. All the gold and silver, whether in bullion or in vessels, were converted into money—jewells were pledged—the troops paid and satisfied, ammunition and provisions laid in—a fresh stimulus supplied, the enemy held at defiance, and the siege prolonged during six months.

The Pretender's party had extended their influence over a great part of the crown domain, even to the valley of Oodipur; but unable to fulfil the stipulation to Sindhia, the baffled Mahratta, to whom time was treasure, negociated with Umra.

* The nose-jewel, which even to mention is considered a breach of delicacy.

to raise the siege, and abandon the Pretender on the payment of seventy lacs. But scarcely was the treaty signed, when the reported disposition of the auxiliaries, and the plunder expected on a successful assault, excited his avarice and made him break his faith, and twenty lacs additional were imposed. Umra tore up the treaty, and sent back the fragments to the faithless Mahratta with defiance. His spirit increased with his difficulties, and he infused his gallantry into the hearts of the most despairing. Assembling the Sindhies and the home-clans who were yet true to their prince, he explained to them the transaction, and addressed them in that language which speaks to the souls of all mankind, and to give due weight to his exhortation, he distributed amongst the most deserving, many articles of cumbrous ornament lying useless in the treasury. The stores of grain in the city and neighbourhood, whether public or private, were collected and sent to the market, and it was proclaimed by beat of drum that every fighting man should have six months' provision on application. Hitherto grain had been selling at little more than a pound for the rupee, and these unexpected resources were matter of universal surprise, more especially to the besiegers.* The Sindhies, having no longer cause for discontent, caught the spirit of the brave Umra, and went in a body to the palace to swear in public never to abandon the Rana, whom their leader, Adil Beg,† thus addressed: "We have long eaten your salt and received numerous favours from your house, and we now come to swear never to abandon you. Oodipur is our home, and we will fall with it. We demand no further pay, and when our grain is exhausted, we will feed on the beasts, and when these fail we will thin the ranks of the Southrons and die sword in hand." Such were the sentiments that Umra had inspired, the expression of which extorted tears from the Rana—a sight so unusual with this stern prince, as to raise frantic shouts from the Sindhies and his Rajpoots. The enthusiasm spread and was announced to Sindhia with all its circumstances by a general discharge of cannon on his advanced posts. Apprehensive of some desperate display of Rajpoot valour, the wary Mahratta made overtures for a renewal of the negotiation. It was now Umra's turn to triumph, and he replied that he must deduct

* To Umra's credit it is related, that his own brother-in-law was the first and principal sufferer, and that to his remonstrance and hope that family ties would save his grain pits, he was told, that it was a source of great satisfaction that he was enabled through him to evince his disinterestedness.

† See grant to this chief's son.

from the original terms the expense they had incurred in sustaining another six months' siege. Thus outwitted, Sindhia was compelled to accept sixty lacs, and three and a half for official expenses.*

Thirty-three lacs in jewels and specie, gold and silver plate, and assignments on the chiefs, were immediately made over to Sindhia, and lands mortgaged for the liquidation of the remainder. For this object the districts of Jawud, Jeerun, Neemutch, and Morwun were set aside to be superintended by joint officers of both governments, with an annual investigation of accounts. From S. 1825 to S. 1831 no infringement took place of this arrangement ; but in the latter year Sindhia dismissed the Rana's officers from the management, and refused all further settlement ; and with the exception of a temporary occupation on Sindhia's reverse of fortune in S. 1851, these rich districts have remained severed from Mewar. In S. 1831 the great officers of the Mahratta federation began to shake off the trammels of the Peshwa's authority ; and Sindhia retained for the state of which hs was the founder, all these lands except Morwun, which was made over to Holker, who the year after the transaction demanded of the Rana the surrender of the district of Neembahaira, threatening, in the event of non-compliance, to repeat the part his predatory coadjutor Sindhia had just performed. The cession was unavoidable.

Thus terminated, in S. 1826, the siege of Oodipur, with the dislocation of these fine districts from Mewar. But let it be remembered that they were only mortgaged :† and although the continued degradation of the country from the same causes has prevented their redemption, the claim to them has never been abandoned. Their recovery was stipulated by the ambassadors of the Rana in the treaty of A. D. 1817 with the British government ; but our total ignorance of the past transactions of these countries, added to our amicable relations with Sindhia, prevented any pledge of the reunion of these districts ; and it must ever be deeply lamented that, when the treacherous and hostile conduct of Sindhia gave a noble opportunity for their restoration, it was lost, from policy difficult to understand, and which must be subject to the animadversions of future historians of that important period in the

* "*Mootsuddi kurch*," or douceur to the officers of government, was an authorized article of every Mahratta *moamla*, or war contribution.

† Little Maloni, now *Gungapur*, with its lands, was the only place decidedly alienated, being a voluntary gift to Sindhia, to endow the establishment of his wife, Gunga Bae, who died there.

history of India. It yet remains for the wisdom of the British government to decide whether half a century's abeyance, and the inability to redeem them by the sword, render the claim a dead letter. At all events, the facts here recorded from a multiplicity of public documents, and corroborated by living actors * in the scene, may be useful at some future day, when expedience may admit of their being reannexed to Mewar.

Umra's defence of the capital, and the retreat of the Mahrattas, was a death-blow to the hopes of the Pretender, who had obtained not only many of the strongholds, but a footing in the valley of the capital. Rajnuggur, Raepur, and Ontala were rapidly recovered; many of the nobles returned to the Rana and to their allegiance: and Rutna was left in Komulmeer with the Depra Minister, and but three of the sixteen principal nobles, namely, Deogurh, Bheendir, and Amait. These contentions lasted till S. 1831, when the chiefs above-named also abandoned him, but not until their rebellion had cost the feather in the crown of Mewar. The rich province of Godwar, the most fruitful of all her possessions, and containing the most loyal of her vassalage, the Ranawuts, Rahtores, and Solankis, was nearly all held on tenure of feudal service, and furnished three thousand horse besides foot, a greater number than the aggregate of the Chondawuts. This district, which was won with the title of Rana from the Purihara prince of Mundore, before Jodpur was built, and whose northern boundary was confirmed by the blood of the Chondawut chief in the reign of Joda, was confided by the Rana to the care of Raja Beejy Sing of Jodpur, to prevent its resources being available to the Pretender, whose residence, Komulmeer, commanded the approach to it: and the original treaty yet exists in which the prince of Marwar binds himself to provide and support a body of three thousand men for the Rana's service from its revenues. This province might have been recovered; but the evil genius of Ursi Rana at this time led him to Boondi to hunt at the spring festival (the *Ahairea*), with the Hara prince, in spite of the prophetic warning of the suttee, who from the funeral pile denounced a practice which had already thrice proved fatal to the princes of Mewar. Rana Ursi fell by the hand of the Boondi prince, and Godwar, withheld from his minor successor, has since remained severed. The Boondi heir, who perpetrated this atrocious assassination, was said to be prompted by the Mewar nobles, who detested their sovereign, and with whom, since the late events, it was impossible they could ever unite in confidence. Impla-

* Zalim Sing of Kotah, and Lallaji Bellal, both now dead.

cable in his disposition, he brooded over injuries, calmly awaiting the moment to avenge them. A single instance will suffice to evince this, as well as the infatuation of Rajpoot devotion. The Saloombra chief, whose predecessor had fallen in support of the Rana's cause at the battle of Oojein, having incurred his suspicions, the Rana commanded him to eat the *pan* (leaf) presented on taking leave. Startled at so unusual an order, he remonstrated, but in vain; and with the conviction that it contained his death-warrant he obeyed, observing to the tyrant, "my compliance will cost you and your family dear:" words fulfilled with fearful accuracy, for to this and similar acts is ascribed the murder of Ursi, and the completion of the ruin of the country. A colour of pretext was afforded to the Boondi chief in a boundary dispute regarding a patch of land yielding only a few good mangoes; but, even admitting this as a palliative, it could not justify the inhospitable act, which in the mode of execution added cowardice to barbarity: for while both were pursuing the boar, the Boondi heir drove his lance through the heart of the Rana. The assassin fell a victim to remorse, the deed being not only disclaimed, but severely reprobated by his father, and all the Hara tribe. A cenotaph still stands on the site of the murder, where the body of Ursi was consumed, and the feud between the houses remains unappeased.

Rana Ursi left two sons, Hamir and Bheem Sing. The former, a name of celebrity in their annals, succeeded in S. 1828 (A. D. 1772) to the little enviable title of Rana. With an ambitious mother, determined to control affairs during his minority, a state pronounced by the bard peculiarly dangerous to a Rajpoot dynasty—and the vengeful competition of the Saloombra chief (successor to the murdered noble), who was equally resolved to take the lead, combined with an unextinguishable enmity to the Suktawuts, who supported the policy of the queen-mother, the demoralization of Mewar was complete; her fields were deluged with blood, and her soil was the prey of every paltry marauder.

The mercenary Sindhies, who won by the enthusiasm of Umra, had for a moment assumed the garb of fidelity, threw it off at their prince's death, taking possession of the capital, which it will be remembered had been committed to the charge of the Saloombra chief, whom they confined and were about to subject to the torture of the hot iron* to extort their arrears of pay, when he was rescued from the indignity by the unlooked-for return of Umra from Boondi. This faithful minister determin-

* A heated platter used for baking bread, on which they place the culprit.

ed to establish the rights of the infant prince against all other claimants for power. But he knew mankind, and had attained, what is still more difficult, the knowledge of himself. Aware that his resolution to maintain his post at all hazards, and against every competitor, would incur the imputation of self-interest, he, like our own Wolsey, though from far different motives, made an inventory of his wealth, in gold, jewels, and plate, even to his wardrobe, and sent the whole in trays to the queen-mother. Suspicion was shamed and resentment disarmed by this proceeding; and to repeated entreaties that he would receive it back he was inflexible, with the exception of articles of apparel that had already been in use. This imperious woman was a daughter of Gogoonda. She possessed considerable talents, but was ruled by an artful *intriguante*, who, in her turn, was governed by a young *homme d'affaires*, then holding an inferior office, but who subsequently acted a conspicuous part; slew and was slain, like almost all who entered into the politics of this tempestuous period. The queen-mother, now supported by the Chondawuts, opposed the minister, who maintained himself by aid of the Sindhies, kept the Mahrattas from the capital, and protected the crown land; but the ungrateful return made, to his long-tried fidelity rendered his temper ungovernable. Rampearie* (such the name of the *intriguante*) repaired on one occasion to the office of the minister, and in the name of the regent queen reviled him for some supposed omission. Umra, losing all temper at this intrusion, applied to the fair abigail the coarsest epithets used to her sex, bidding her be gone as a *Kootee ca Rand*, (a phrase we shall not translate), which was reported with exaggeration to the queen, who threw herself into a litter and set off to the Saloombra chief. Umra, anticipating an explosion, met the cavalcade in the street, and enjoined her instant return to the palace. Who dared disobey? Arrived at the door of the Rawula, he made his obeisance, and told her it was a disgrace to the memory of her lord that she should quit the palace under any pretext; that even the potter's wife did not go abroad for six months after her husband's death, while she, setting decorum at defiance, had scarcely permitted the period of mourning to elapse. He concluded by saying he had a duty to perform, and that he would perform it in spite of all obstacles, in which, as it involved her own and her children's welfare, she ought to co-operate, instead of thwarting him. But Baeji Raj (the *royal mother*) was young, artful, and ambitious, and persevered in her hostility till the demise of this uncompromis-

* '*The beloved of Rama.*'

ing minister shortly after, surmised to be caused by poison. His death yielded a flattering comment on his life; he left not funds sufficient to cover the funeral expenses, and is, and will probably continue, the sole instance on record in Indian history, of a minister having his obsequies defrayed by subscription among his fellow citizens.

The man who thus lived and thus died would have done honour to any, even the most civilized country, where the highest incentives to public virtue exist. What therefore does not his memory merit, when amongst a people who through long oppression, were likely to hold such feelings in little estimation, he pursued its dictates from principle alone, his sole reward that which the world could not bestow, the applause of the monitor within? But they greatly err who, in the application of their own overweening standard of merit, imagine there is no public opinion in these countries; for recollections of actions like this (of which but a small portion is related) they yet love to descant upon, and an act of vigour and integrity is still designated *Umrachunda*;* evincing that if virtue has few imitators in this country, she is not without ardent admirers.

In S. 1831 (A. D. 1775) the rebellion of the Beygoo chief, head of a grand division of the Chondawuts, the *Megawut*, obliged the queen-mother to call upon Sindhia for his reduction, who recovered the crown lands he had usurped, and imposed on this refractory noble a fine of twelve lacs of rupees, or £100,000 sterling.† But instead of confining himself to punishing the guilty, and restoring the lands to the young Rana, he inducted his own son-in-law Berji Tap into the districts of Ruttengurh Kheri and Singolli; and at the same time made over those of Irnia, Jauth, Beechore, and Nuddowye, to Holkar, the aggregate revenue of which amounted to six lacs annually. Besides these alienations, of territory, the Mahrattas levied no less than four grand war contributions in S. 1830-31,‡ while in S. 1836 § their rapacity exacted three

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* *Umra Chund* it will be recollected was the name of the minister.

† The treaty by which Sindhia holds these districts yet exists, which stipulates their surrender on the liquidation of the contribution. The Rana still holds this as a responsible engagement, and pleaded his rights in the treaty with the British government in A. D. 1817-18. But half a century's possession is a strong bond, which we dare not break; though the claim now registered may hereafter prove of service to the family.

‡ 1830, Madhaji Sindhia's contribution (*moamla*) on account of Beygoo; 1831, Berji Tap's *moamla* through Govind and Gunput Rao; 1831, Umbaji Inglia, Bappoo Holkar and Dadooji Pundit's joint *moamla*.

§ 1st Appaji and Makaji Getea, on Holkar's account; 2d Tukoji Holkar's through Somji; 3d Alli Buhadoor's, through Somji.

more. Inability to liquidate these exorbitant demands, was invariably a signal for further sequestration of land. Amidst such scenes of civil strife and external spoliation, one Mahratta following another in the same track of rapine, Hamir died before he had attained even Rajpoot majority,* in S. 1834 (A. D. 1778).

We may here briefly recapitulate the diminution of territory and wealth in Mewar from the period of the first Mahratta visitation in A. D. 1736, to the death of Hamir. It were a waste of time to enumerate the rapacious individuals who shared in the spoils of this devoted country. We may be content to say their name was "*legion*." These forty years were surcharged with evil. The Mogul princes observed at least the forms of government and justice, which occasionally tempered their aggressions; the Mahrattas were associations of vampires, who drained the very life-blood wherever the scent of spoil attracted them. In three payments we have seen the enormous sum of one crore and eighty-one lacs,† upwards of two millions English money, exacted from Mewar, exclusive of individual contributions levied on chiefs, ministers, and the pretender's party: and a schedule drawn up by the reigning prince of contributions levied up to his own time, amounts to £5,000,000 sterling. Yet the land would eventually have reimbursed these sums, but the penalty inflicted for deficiencies of payment renders the evil irremediable; for the alienated territory which then produced an annual revenue of twenty-eight lacs,‡ or £323,000 sterling, exceeds in amount the sum-total now left, whether fiscal or feudal, in the present impoverished state of the country.

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* The age of eighteen.

† *Viz.* S. 1808, by Rana Juggut Sing to Holkar ..... Lacs 66
1820, Pertap and Ursi Rana to Holkar ..... „ 51
1826, Ursi Rana to Madhaji Sindhia ..... „ 64
Total.....1,81

‡ S. 1808, Rampura, Bhanpura.....Lacs 9
1826, Jawud, Jeerun, Neemutch, Neembahaira..... „ 4½
1831, Ruttungurh Kheri, Singolli, Irnia, Jauth, Nuddowye, &c.&c..... „ 6
1831, Godwar..... „ 9
Total.....28½

CHAPTER XVII.

Rana Bheem—Feud of Seogurh.—The Rana redeems the alienated Lands.—Ahelia Bae attacks the Rana's Army—which is defeated.—Chondawut Rebellion.—Assassination of the Minister Somji.—The Rebels seize on Cheetore.—Madhaji Sindhia called in by the Rana.—Invests Cheetore.—The Rebels surrender.—Designs of Zalim Sing for power in Mewar.—Counteracted by Umbaji—who assumes the title of Soobadar, contested by Lukwa.—Effects of these Struggles.—Zalim obtains Jehajpur.—Holkar invades Mewar.—Confines the priests of Nathdwara.—Heroic Conduct of the Chief of Kotario.—Lukwa dies.—The Rana seizes the Mahratta Leaders.—Liberated by Zalim Sing.—Holkar returns to Oodipur—imposes a heavy Contribution.—Sindhia's Invasion.—Reflections on their Contest with the British.—Umbaji projects the Partition of Mewar—frustrated.—Rivalry for Krishna Kumari, the Princess of Mewar, produces War throughout Rajasthan.—Immolation of Krishna—Meer Khan and Ajit Sing—their villany.—British Embassy to Sindhia's Court at Oodipur.—Umbaji is disgraced, and attempts Suicide.—Meer Khan and Bapoo Sindhia desolate Mewar.—The Rana forms a Treaty with the British.

Rana Bheem Sing (the reigning prince), who succeeded his brother in S. 1834 (A. D. 1778), was the fourth minor in the space of forty years who inherited Mewar; and the half century during which he has occupied the throne, has been as fruitful in disaster as any period of her history already recorded. He was but eight years of age on his accession, and remained under his mother's tutelage long after his minority had expired. This subjection fixed his character; naturally defective in energy, and impaired by long misfortune, he continued to be swayed by faction and intrigue. The cause of the pretender, though weakened, was yet kept alive; but his insignificance eventually left him so unsupported, that his death is not even recorded.

In S. 1840 (A. D. 1784) the Chondawuts reaped the harvest of their allegiance and made the power thus acquired subservient to the indulgence of ancient animosities against the rival clan

of Suktawut. Saloombra with his relatives Oorjun Sing * of Korabur and Pertap Sing † of Amait, now ruled the councils, having the Sindhie mercenaries under their leaders Chundun and Sadik at their command. Mustering therefore all the strength of their kin and clans, they resolved on the prosecution of the feud, and invested Bheendir, the castle of Mokhim the chief of the Suktawuts, against which they placed their batteries.

Sangram Sing, a junior branch of the Suktawuts, destined to play a conspicuous part in the future events of Mewar, was then rising into notice, and had just completed a feud with his rival the Poorawut, whose abode, Lawah,‡ he had carried by escalade; and now determined to make a diversion in favour of his chief, he invaded the estate of Korabur, engaged against Bheendir, and was driving off the cattle, when Salim Sing the heir of Korabur intercepted his retreat, and an action ensued in which Salim § was slain by the lance of Sangram. The afflicted father, on hearing the fate of his son, "threw the turban off his head" swearing never to replace it till he had tasted revenge. Feigning a misunderstanding with his own party he withdrew from the siege, taking the road to his estate, but suddenly abandoned it for Seogurh, the residence of Lalji the father of Sangram. The castle of Seogurh, placed amidst the mountains and the deep forests of Chuppun, was from its difficulty of access deemed secure against surprise: and here Sangram had placed the females and children of his family. To this point Oorjun directed his revenge, and found Seogurh, destitute of defenders save the aged chief; but though seventy summers had whitened his head, he bravely met the storm, and fell in opposing the foe; when the children of Sangram were dragged out and inhumanly butchered, and the widow ‖

* Brother of Ajit, the negotiator of the treaty with the British.

† Chief of the Juggawut clan, also a branch of the chondawuts; he was killed in a battle with the Mahrattas.

‡ It is yet held by the successor of Sangram, whose faithful services merited the grant he obtained from his prince, and it was in consequence left unmolested in the arrangement of 1817, from the knowledge of his merits.

§ The father of Rawut Joan Sing, whom I found at Oodipur as military minister, acting for his grand uncle Ajit the organ of the Chondawuts, whose head, Puddum Sing, was just emerging from his minority. It was absolutely necessary to get to the very root of all these feuds, when as envoy and mediator I had to settle the disputes of half a century, and make each useful to detect their joint usurpations of the crown domain.

‖ She was the grandmother of Maun Sing, a fine specimen of a Suktawut cavalier.

of Lalji ascended the pyre. This barbarity aggravated the hostility which separated the clans, and together with the minority of their prince and the yearly aggressions of the Mahrattas, accelerated the ruin of the country. But Bheem Sing, the Chondawut leader, was governed by insufferable vanity, and not only failed in respect to his prince, but offended the queen regent. He parcelled out the crown domain from Cheetore to Oodipur amongst the Sindhie bands, and whilst his sovereign was obliged to borrow money to defray his marriage at Edur, this ungrateful noble had the audacity to disburse upwards of £100,000 on the marriage of his own daughter. Such conduct determined the royal mother to supplant the Chondawuts, and calling in the Suktawuts to her aid, she invested with power the chiefs of Bheendir and Lawah. Aware, however, that their isolated authority was insufficient to withstand their rivals, they looked abroad for support, and made an overture to Zalim Sing of Kotah, whose political and personal resentments to the Chondawuts, as well as his connexion by marriage with their opponents, made him readily listen to it. With his friend the Mahratta, Lallaji Bellal, he joined the Suktawuts with a body of 10,000 men. It was determined to sacrifice the Saloombra chief, who took post in the ancient capital of Cheetore, where the garrison was composed chiefly of Sindhies, thus effacing his claim to his prince's gratitude, whom he defied, while the pretender still had a party in the other principal fortress, Komulmeer.

Such was the state of things, when the ascendancy of Madhaji Sindhia received a signal check from the combined forces of Marwar and Jeypur; and the battle of Lalsont, in which the Mahratta chief was completely defeated, was the signal for the Rajpoots to resume their alienated territory. Nor was the Rana backward on the occasion, when there appeared a momentary gleam of the active virtue of past days. Maldas Mehta was civil minister, with Mouzee Ram as his deputy, both men of talent and energy. They first effected the reduction of Neembhahaira and the smaller garrisons of Mahrattas in its vicinity, who from a sense of common danger assembled their detachments in Jawud, which was also invested. Sevaji Nana, the governor, capitulated, and was allowed to march out with his effects. At the same time, the "*sons of the black cloud*"* assembling, drove the Mahrattas from Bey-

* Megh Sing was the chief of Beygoo, and founder of that subdivision of the Chondawuts called after him *Meghawut*, and his complexion being very dark (*kala*), he was called "kala megh," the "*black cloud*." His descendants were very numerous and very refractory.

goo, Singolli, &c., and the districts on the plateau; while the Chondawuts redeemed their ancient fief of Rampura, and thus for a while the whole territory was recovered. Elated by success, the united chiefs advanced to Churdoo on the banks of the Rirkia, a streamlet dividing Mewar from Malwa, preparatory to further operations. Had these been confined to the maintenance of the places they had taken, and which had been withheld in violation of treaties, complete success might have crowned their efforts; but in including Neembhahaira in their capture they drew upon them the energetic Ahelia Bae, the regent-queen of the Holkar state, who unluckily for them was at hand, and who coalesced with Sindhia's partisans to check this reaction of the Rajpoots. Toolaji Sindhia and Sri Bhae, with five thousand horse, were ordered to support the discomfited Seva Nana, who had taken refuge in Mundisore, where he rallied all the garrisons whom the Rajpoots had unwisely permitted to capitulate. On Tuesday the 4th of Magh S. 1844,* the Rana's troops were surprised and defeated with great slaughter, the minister slain, the chiefs of Kanorh and Sadri with many others severely wounded, and the latter made prisoner.† The newly made conquests were all rapidly lost with the exception of Jawud, which was gallantly maintained for a month by Deep Chund, who, with his guns and rockets, effected a passage through the Mahrattas, and retired with his garrison to Mandelgurh. Thus terminated an enterprize which might have yielded far different results but for a misplaced security. All the chiefs and clans were united in this patriotic struggle except the Chondawuts, against whom the queen-mother and the new minister, Somji, had much difficulty to contend for the establishment of the minors's authority. At length overtures were made to Saloombra, when the fair Rampearie was employed to conciliate the obdurate chief, who condescended to make his appearance at Oodipur and to pay his respects to the prince. He pretended to enter into the views of the minister and to coalesce in his plans; but this was only a web to ensnare his victim, whose talent had diminished his authority, and was a bar to the prosecution of his ambitious views. Somji was seated in his bureau when Oorjun Sing of Korabur and Sirdar Sing‡ of Bhadaisser entered,

* A. D. 1788.

† He did not recover his liberty for two years, nor till he had surrendered four of the best towns in his fief.

‡ Father of the present Hamir Sing, the only chief with whom I was compelled to use severity; but he was incorrigible. He was celebrated for his raids in the troubles, and from his red whiskers bore with us the name of the *Red-Riever* of Bhadaisser—more of him by-and-bye.

and the latter, as he demanded how he dared to resume his fief, plunged his dagger into the minister's breast. The Rana was passing the day at one of the villas in the valley called the *Suhailea Bari* 'the garden of nymphs', attended by Jait Sing of Bednore, when the brothers* of the minister suddenly rushed into the presence to claim protection against the murderers. They were followed by Oorjun of Korabur, who had the audacity to present himself before his sovereign with his hands yet stained with the blood of Somji. The Rana, unable to punish the insolent chief, branding him as a traitor, bade him begone; when the whole of the actors in this nefarious scene, with their leader Saloombra, returned to Cheetore. Sheodas and Suttidas, brothers to the murdered minister, were appointed to succeed him, and with the Suktawuts fought several actions against the rebels, and gained one decisive battle at Akola, in which Oorjun of Korabur commanded. This was soon balanced by the defeat of the Suktawuts at Khyroda. Every triumph was attended with ruin to the country. The agriculturist, never certain of the fruits of his labour, abandoned his fields, and at length his country; mechanical industry found no recompense, and commerce was at the mercy of unlicensed spoliation. In a very few years Mewar lost half her population; her lands lay waste, her mines were unworked, and her looms, which formerly supplied all around, forsaken. The prince partook of the general penury; instead of protecting, he required protection; the bonds which united him with his subjects were snapped, and each individual or petty community provided for itself that defence which he could not give. Hence arose a train of evils; every cultivator, whether fiscal or feudal, sought out a patron, and entered into engagements as the price of protection. Hence every Rajpoot who had a horse and lance, had his clients; and not a camel-

* Sheodas and Suttidas, with their cousin Jychund. They revenged their brother's death by that of his murderer, and were both in turn slain. Such were these times. The author more than once, when resuming the Chondawut lands, and amongst them Bhadaisser, the fief of the son of Sirdar, was told to recollect the fate of Somji, the advice, however, excited only a smile; he was deemed more of a Suktawut than a Chondawut, and there was some truth in it, for he found the good actions of the former far outweigh the other, who made a boast and monopoly of their patriotism. It was a curious period in his life; the stimulous to action was too high, too constant, to think of self; and having no personal views, being influenced solely by one feeling, the prosperity of all, he despised the very idea of danger, though it was said to exist in various shapes, even in the hospitable plate put before him! But he deemed none capable of such treachery, though once he was within a few minute's march to the other world; but the cause, if the right one, came from his own *cuisinier*, or rather *boulanger*, whom he discharged.

load of merchandize could pass the abode of one of these cavaliers without paying fees. The effects of such disorder were felt long after the cause ceased to exist, and claims difficult to adjust arose out of these licentious times; for the having prescriptive right was deemed sufficient to authorize their continuance.* Here were displayed the effects of a feudal association, where the powers of government were enfeebled. These feuds alone were sufficient to ruin the country: but when to such internal ills shoals of Mahratta plunderers were added, no art is required to describe the consequences.

The Rana and his advisers at length determined to call in Sindhia to expel the rebellious Chondawuts from the ancient capital; a step mainly prompted by Zalim Sing (now regent of Kotah), who with the Rana's ministers was deputed to the Mahratta chieftain, then enjoying himself at the sacred lake of Poshkur.† Since the overthrow of Lalsont he had re-organized his brigades under the celebrated De Boigne, through whose conduct he had redeemed his lost influence in Rajpootana by the battles of Mairta and Patun, in which the brave Rahtores, after acts of the most devoted gallantry, were completely overthrown. Sindhia's plans coincided entirely with the object of the deputation, and he readily acquiesced in the Rana's desire. This event introduced on the political stage some of the most celebrated men of that day, whose actions offer a fair picture of manners, and may justify our entering a little into details.‡

Zalim Sing had for some years become regent of Kotah, and though to maintain himself in power, and the state he controlled in an attitude to compel the respect of surrounding foes, was no slight task, yet he found the field too contracted for his ambition, and his secret views had long been directed to permanent influence in Mewar. His skill in reading character convinced him that the Rana would be no bar to his wishes, the attainment of which, by giving him the combined resources of Haravati and Mewar, would bestow the lead in Rajasthan. The Jeypur court he disregarded, whose effeminate army he had himself defeated single-handed with the Kotah troops, and the influence he established amongst the leading chiefs of Marwar held out no fear of counteraction from that quarter. The stake was high, the game sure, and success would have opened a field to his genius which might have entirely altered the fate of Hindusthan; but one false move was irretrievable, and instead

* See the Essay on a Feudal System.

† S. 1847 (A. D. 1791).

‡ Acquired from the actors in those scenes: the prince, his ministers, Zalim Sing, and the rival chiefs have all contributed.

of becoming the arbitrator of India, he left only the reputation of being the Nestor of Rajpootana.

The restriction of the Rana's power was the cloak under which he disguised all his operations, and it might have been well for the country had his plans succeeded to their full extent. To re-establish the Rana's authority, and to pay the charges of the reduction of Cheetore, he determined that the rebels chiefly should furnish the means, and that from them and the fiscal lands, mostly in their hands, sixty-four lacs should be levied, of which tree-fifths should be appropriated to Sindhia, and the remainder to replenish the Rana's treasury. Preliminaries being thus arranged, Zalim was furnished with a strong corps under Umbaji Inglia; while Sindhia followed, hanging on the Marwar frontier, to realize the contributions of that State. Zalim Sing and Umbaji moved towards Cheetore, levying from the estates of those obnoxious to Zalim's views. Hamirgurh, whose chief, Dheruj Sing, a man of talent and courage was the principal adviser of Bheem Sing, the Saloombra chief, was besieged, and stood several assaults during six weeks' vigorous operations, when the destruction of the springs of the wells from the concussion of the guns compelled its surrender, and the estate was sequestrated. The force continued their progress, and after a trifling altercation at Bussee, a Chondawut fief, which was also taken, they took up a position at Cheetore, and were soon after joined by the main body under Sindhia.

Zalim, to gratify Madhaji's vanity, who was desirous of a visit from the Rana, which even the Peshwa considered an honour, proceeded to Oodipur to effect this object; when the Rana, placing himself under his guidance, marched for this purpose, and was met at the Tiger mount, within a few miles of his capital, by Sindhia, who received the Rana, and escorted him to the besieging army. But in this short interval, Umbaji, who remained with the army at Cheetore, intrigued with the rebel Chondawut to supplant the predominant influence of his friend Zalim Sing, and seized the opportunity of his absence to counteract him, by communicating his plans to Saloombra: aware that, unless he broke with Zalim, he could only hope to play a secondary part under him. Though the ulterior views of Zalim were kept to his own breast, they could not escape the penetration of the crafty Mahratta; his very anxiety to hide them furnished Umbaji with the means of detection. Had Zalim possessed an equal share of meanness with his political antagonist, he might have extricated himself from the snare; but once over-reached, he preferred sinking to grasping at an unworthy support. Bheem Sing (Saloombra) privately negotiated with Umbaji the surrender

of Cheetore, engaging to humble himself before the Rana, and to pay a contribution of twenty lacs, levied on the clans, provided Zalim Sing was ordered to retire. This suggestion, apparently founded on the rebellious chief's antipathy to Zalim, but in reality prompted by Umbaji, ensured the approbation, as it suited the views, of all parties, but especially Sindhia, who was desirous of repairing to Poonah. Zalim, the sole obstacle to his arrangement, furnished to his enemies the means of escape from the dilemma, and lost the opportunity of realizing his long-cherished scheme of wielding the united resources of Mewar and Haravati. Zalim had always preserved a strict amity with Umbaji wherever their interests did not clash, and his regard had the cement of gratitude to the Mahratta, whose father Trimbukji had saved Zalim's life and procured his liberty, when left wounded and a prisoner at the battle of Oojein. On Zalim's return with the Rana, Umbaji touched on the terms of Bheem Sing's surrender hinting that Zalim's presence was the sole obstacle to this desirable result; who, the more to mask his views, which any expressed reluctance to the measure might expose, went beyond probability in asseverations of readiness to be no bar to such arrangement, even so far as to affirm that, besides being tired of the business from the heavy expense it entailed on him, he had his prince's wish for his return to Kotah. There is one ingredient in Zalim's character, which has never been totally merged in the vices acquired from the tortuous policy of a long life, and which in the vigour of youth had full sway—namely, pride, one of the few virtues left to the Rajpoot, defrauded of many others by long oppression. But Zalim's pride was legitimate, being allied to honour; and it has retained him an evident superiority, through all the mazes of ambition. Umbaji skilfully availed himself of this defect in his friend's political character. "A pretty story, indeed!—you tell this to me; it might find credit with those who did not know you." The sarcasm only plunged him deeper into asseveration. "Is it then really your wish to retire?"—"Assuredly."—"Then," retorted the crafty Umbaji, "your wish shall be gratified in a few minutes". Giving him no time to retract, he called for his horse and galloped to Sindhia's tent. Zalim relied on Sindhia not acceding to the proposition; or if he did, that the Rana, over whom he imagined he had complete influence, would oppose it. His hopes of Sindhia rested on a promise privately made to leave troops under his authority for the restoration of order in Mewar; and a yet stronger claim, the knowledge that without Zalim he could not realize the stipulated sums for the expul-

sion of the Chondawut from Cheetore. Umbaji had foreseen and prepared a remedy for these difficulties, and upon their being urged, offered himself to advance the amount by bills on the Dekhan. This argument was irresistible; money, and the consequent prosecution of his journey to Poonah, being attained, Sindhia's engagements with Zalim and the Rana ceased to be a matter of importance. He nominated Umbaji his lieutenant, with the command of a large force, by whose aid he would reimburse himself for the sums thus advanced. Having carried his object with Sindhia, Umbaji proceeded direct from his tent to that of the Rana's ministers, Sheodas and Suttidas, with whom, by the promise of co-operation in their views, and perfect subserviency to the Rana's interests, he was alike successful. Umbaji, with the rapidity necessary to ensure success, having in a few hours accomplished his purpose, hastened back to Zalim, to acquaint him that his wish to retire had met with general acquiescence; and so well did he manage, that the Rana's mace-bearer arrived at the same moment to announce that the '*khelat of leave*' awaited his acceptance. Zalim being thus outwitted, the Saloombra chief descended from Cheetore, and '*touched the Rana's feet.*' Sindhia pursued his march to the Dekhan, and Umbaji was left sole arbiter of Mewar. The Suktawuts maintained the lead at court, and were not backward in consigning the estates of their rivals to the incubus now settled on the country: while the mortified Zalim, on his retreat, recorded his expenses, to be produced on some fitting occasion.

Umbaji remained eight years in Mewar, reaping its revenues and amassing those hoards of wealth, which subsequently gave him the lead in Hindusthan, and enabled him nearly to assert his independence. Yet, although he accumulated £2,000,000 sterling from her soil,* exacting one-half of the produce of agricultural industry, the suppression of feuds and exterior aggressions gave to Mewar a degree of tranquillity and happiness to which she had long been a stranger. The instructions delivered to Umbaji were.

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* It was levied as follows:—

Saloombra	Lacs	3
Deogurh	„	3
Singirgir Gosen, their adviser	„	2
Kositul	„	1
Amait	„	2
Korabur	„	1
	Lacs	12

1st. The entire restoration of the Rana's authority and resumption of the crown-lands from rebellious chiefs and mercenary Sindhies.

2d. The expulsion of the pretender from Komulmeer.

3d. The recovery of Godwar from the Raja of Marwar.

4th. To settle the Boondi feud for the murder of Rana Ursi.

A schedule (*pandri*) for the twenty lacs stipulated, was made and levied; twelve from the Chondawut estates, and eight from the Suktawuts; and the sum of sixty lacs was awarded, besides the expense of Umbaji's army, when the other specified objects should be attained. Within two years the pretender was expelled Komulmeer, Jehajpur was recovered from a rebellious Ranawut, and the crown-lands* were redeemed from the nobles; the personal domain of the Rana, agricultural and commercial, still realized nearly fifty lacs of rupees. After these services, though Godwar was still unredeemed, the Boondi feud unappeased, and the lands mortgaged to the Mahrattas were not restored, Umbaji assumed the title of Soobadar of Mewar, and identified himself with the parties of the day. Yet so long as he personally upheld the interests of the Rana, his memory is done justice to, notwithstanding he never conformed to the strict letter of his engagements. The Rana's ministers, fearing lest their brother's fate should be theirs in the event of the Chondawuts again attaining power, and deeming their own and their sovereign's security dependent on Umbaji's presence, made a subsidiary engagement with him, and lands to the amount of 75,000 rupees monthly, or eight lacs annually, were appropriated for his force; but so completely were the resources of the country diverted from their honest use, that when, in S. 1851, a marriage was negotiated between the Rana's sister and the prince of Jeypur, the Rana was obliged to borrow £50,000 from the Mahratta commander to purchase the nuptial presents. The following year was marked by a triple event—the death of the queen-mother, the birth of a son and heir to the Rana, and the bursting of the embankment of the lake, which swept away a third of the city and a third of its inhabitants. Superstition attributed this catastrophe to the Rana's impiety, in establishing a new festival† to Gowrie, the Isis of Rajasthan.

Umbaji, who was this year nominated by Sindhia his viceroy in Hindusthan, left Gunes Punt as his lieutenant in

* Raepur Rajnuggur from the Sindhies; Goorlah and Gadermala from the Poorawuts; Hamirguth from Sirdar Sing, and Koorj Kowario from Saloombra.

† In Bhadoon, the third month of the rainy season. An account of this festival will hereafter be given.

Mewar, with whom acted the Rana's officers, Sowaie and Sheerji Mehta;* who applied themselves to make the most of their ephemeral power with so rapacious a spirit, that Umbaji was compelled to displace Gunes Punt and appoint the celebrated Rae Chund. To him they would not yield, and each party formed a nucleus for disorder and misrule. It would be uninteresting and nauseating to the reader to carry him through all the scenes of villany which gradually desolated this country; for whose spoils pilfering Mahrattas, savage Rohillas, and adventurous Franks, were all let loose. The now humbled Chondawuts, many of whose fiefs were confiscated, took to horse, and in conjunction with lawless Sindhies scoured the country. Their estates were attacked, Korabur was taken, and batteries were placed against Saloombra, whence the Sindhies fled and found refuge in Deogurh. In this exigence, the Chondawuts determined to send an envoy to Umbaji, who was then engaged in the siege of Duttea; and Ajit Sing, since prominent in the intrigues of Mewar, was the organ of his clan on this occasion. For the sum of ten lacs the avaricious Mahratta agreed to recall his deputy from Mewar,† to renounce Sheodas and the Suktawuts, and lend his support to the Chondawuts. The Saloombra chief again took the lead at court, and with Aggurji Mehta‡ as

* The first of these is now the manager of Prince Jowan Sing's estates, a man of no talent; and the latter, his brother, was one of the ministers on my arrival at Oodipur. He was of invincible good-humour, yet full of the spirit of intrigue, and one of the bars to returning prosperity. The cholera carried off this Falstaff of the court, not much to my sorrow.

† S. 1853, A. D. 1797.

‡ This person was nominated the chief civil minister on the author's arrival at Oodipur, an office to which he was every way unequal. The affairs of Mewar had never prospered since the faithful Pancholis were deprived of power. Several productions of the descendants of Beharri-das have fallen into my hands; their quaint mode of conveying advice may authorize their insertion here.

The Pancholis who had performed so many services to the country had been for some time deprived of the office of prime minister, which was disposed of as it suited the views of the factious nobles who held power for the time being: and who bestowed it on the Mehtas, Depras, or Dhabhaes. Amongst the papers of the Pancholis, several addressed to the Rana and to Uggurji Mehta, the minister of the day, are valuable for the patriotic sentiments they contain, as well as for the general light they throw upon the period. In S. 1853 (A. D. 1797) Imrit Rao devised a plan to remedy the evils that oppressed the country. He inculcated the necessity of dispensing with the interference of the Suktawuts and Chondawuts in the affairs of Government, and strengthening the hands of the civil administration by admitting the foreign chieftains to the power he proposed to deprive the former of. He proceeds in the following quaint style.

"Disease fastened on the country from the following causes,—envy,

minister, the Suktawuts were attacked, the stipulated ten lacs raised from their estates, and two fiefs of note, Heeta and Saimari, confiscated.

and party spirit. With the *Toorks* disease was introduced; but then the prince, his ministers, and chiefs, were of one mind, and medicine was ministered and a cure effected. During Rana Jey Sing's time the disorder returned, which his son Umra put down. He recovered the affairs of government from confusion, gave to every one his proper rank and dignity, and rendered all prosperous. But Maharana Sangram Sing put from under his wing the Chunderawut of Rampura, and thus a pinion of Mewar was broken. The calamity of Behatridas, whose son committed suicide, increased the difficulties. The arrival of the Dekhanis under Baji Rao, the Jeypur affair, (*a*) and the defeat at Rajmahl, with the heavy expenditure thereby occasioned, augmented the disorder. Add to this in Juggut Sing's time the enmity of the Dhabhaes towards the Pancholis, which lowered their dignities at home and abroad, and since which time every man has thought himself equal to the task of government. Juggut Sing was also afflicted by the rebellious conduct of his son Pertap, when Shama Solanki and several other chiefs were treacherously cut off. Since which time the minds of the nobles have never been loyal, but black and not to be trusted. Again, on the accession of Pertap, Maharaja Nathji allowed his thoughts to aspire, from which all his kin suffered. Hence animosities, doubts, and deceits, arose on all sides. Add to this the haughty proceeding of Umra Chund now in office; and besides the strife of the Pancholis with each other, their enmity to the Depras. Hence parties were formed which completely destroyed the credit of all. Yet notwithstanding, they abated none of their strife, which was the *acme* to the disease. The feud between Koman Sing and the Suktawuts for the possession of Heetha aggravated the distresses. The treacherous murder of Maharaja Nathji and the consequent disgust and retreat of Jeswunt Sing of Deogurh; the setting up the impostor Rutna Sing, and Jhala Raghoo Deo's struggle for office, with Umra Chund's entertaining the mercenaries of Sind, brought it to a crisis. The negligence arising out of luxury, and the intrigues of the Dhabhaes of Rana Ursi, made it spread so as to defeat all attempt at cure. In S. 1829, on the treacherous murder of the Rana by the Boondi prince, and the accession of the minor Hamir, every one set up his own authority, so that there was not even the semblance of government. And now you (to the Rana), listening to the advice of Bheem Sing (Saloombra), and his brother, Urjoon, have taken foreigners (*b*) into pay, and thus rivetted all the former errors. You and *Sri Baeji Raj* (the royal mother), putting confidence in foreigners and Dekhanis, have rendered the disease contagious: besides, your mind is gone. What can be done? Medicine may yet be had. Let us unite and struggle to restore the duties of the minister, and we may conquer, or at least check its progress. If now neglected, it will hereafter be beyond human power. The Dekhanis are the great sore. Let us settle their accounts, and at all events get rid of them, or we lose the land for ever. At this time there are treaties and engagements in every corner. I have touched on every subject. Forgive whatever is improper. Let us look the future in the face, and

(*a*) The struggle to place the Rana's nephew, Madhu Sing, on the throne of Jeypur.

(*b*) The Pancholi must allude to the Mahratta subsidiary force under Umbaji.

The death of Madhaji Sindhia, and the accession of his nephew Dowlut Rao, his murder of the Sainowee Brahmins, and his quarrels with the Baes ('princesses,' wives of the deceased Sindhia), all occurred at this time, and materially influenced the events in Mewar. The power of Umbaji as Soobadar of Hindusthan was strengthened by the minority of Sindhia, although contested by Lukwa and the Baes, supported by the Kheechie prince, Dodjun Sal, and the Duttea Raja, who fought and died for the princesses. Lukwa wrote to the Rana to throw off Umbaji's yoke and expel his lieutenant; while Umbaji commanded his deputy to eject the Sainowee* Brahmins, supporters of Lukwa, from all the lands in Mewar. To this end Gunes Punt called on the Rana's ministers and

let chiefs, ministers, and all unite. With the welfare of the country all will be well. But this is a disease which, if not now conquered, will conquer us."

A second paper as follows :—

The disease of the country is to be considered and treated as a remittent.

"Umra Sing cured it and laid a complete system of government and justice.

"In Sangram's time it once more gained ground.

"In Juggut Sing's time the seed was thrown into the ground thus obtained.

"In Pertap's time it sprung up.

"In Raj Sing's time it bore fruit.

"In Rana Ursi's time it was ripe.

"In Hamir's time it was distributed, and all have had a share.

"And you, Bheem Sing (the present Rana), have eaten plentifully thereof. Its virtues and flavour you are acquainted with, and so likewise is the country; and if you take no medicine you will assuredly suffer much pain, and both at home and abroad you will be lightly thought of. Be not therefore negligent, or faith and land will depart from you."

A third paper to Uggurji Mehta (then minister) :—

"If the milk is curdled it does not signify. Where there is sense butter may yet be extracted; and if the butter-milk (*chauch*) is thrown away it matters not. But if the milk be curdled and black it will require wisdom to restore its purity. This wisdom is now wanted. The foreigners are the black in the curdled milk of Mewar. At all hazards remove them. Trust to them and the land is lost.

"In moonlight what occasion for a blue light? (*Chundra jote.*) (*a*)

Who looks to the false coin of the Juggler?

Do not credit him who tells you he will make a pigeon out of a feather.

"Abroad it is said there is no wisdom left in Mewar, which is a disgrace to her reputation."

* There are three classes of Mahratta Brahmins: Sainowee, Purbo and Mahrat. Of the first was Lukwa, Balabha Tantia, Jewa Dada, Sewaji Nana, Lallaji Pundit, and Jeswunt Rao Bhow, men who held the mortgaged lands of Mewar.

(*a*) Literally a "moonlight." The particular kind of firework which we call a "blue light."

chiefs, who, consulting thereon, determined to play a deep game; and while they apparently acquiesced in the schemes of Gunes, they wrote the Sainowees to advance from Jawud and attack him, promising them support. They met at Sawah; Nana was defeated with the loss of his guns, and retired on Cheetore. With a feint of support, the Chondawuts made him again call in his garrison and try another battle, which he also lost and fled to Hamirgurh; then uniting with his enemies, they invested the place with 15,000 men. Nana bravely maintained himself, making many sallies, in one of which both the sons of Dheruj Sing, the chief of Hamirgurh, were slain. Shortly after, Nana was relieved by some battalions of the newly raised regulars sent by Umbaji under Golaub Rao Kudum, upon which he commenced his retreat on Ajmeer. At Moosa-Moosi he was forced to action, and success had nearly crowned the efforts of the clans, when a horseman, endeavouring to secure a mare, calling out, "*Bhaga! bhaga!*" "She flies! she flies!", the word spread, while those who caught her, exclaiming "*Milgya! milgya!*" "She is taken!" but equally significant with 'going over' to the enemy, caused a general panic, and the Chondawuts, on the verge of victory, disgraced themselves, broke and fled. Several were slain, among whom was the Sindhie leader Chundun. Shapura opened its gates to the fugitives led by the Goliah of the host, the chief of Deogurh.* It was an occasion not to be lost by the bards of the rival clan, and many a ribald stanza records this day's disgrace. Umbaji's lieutenant, however, was so roughly handled that several chiefs redeemed their estates, and the Rana much of the fisc, from Mahratta control. Mewar now became the arena on which the rival satraps Umbaji and Lukwa contested the exalted office of Sindhia's lieutenancy in Hindusthan. Lukwa was joined by all the chiefs of Mewar, his cause being their own; and Hamirgurh still held ay Nana's party, was reinvested. Two thousand shot had made a practicable breach, when Bala Rao Inglia, Bapoo Sindhia, Eswunt Rao Sindhia, a brigade under the European 'Mutta field,' with the auxiliary battalions of Zalim Sing of Kotah, the whole under the command of Umbaji's son, arrived to relieve the lieutenant. Lukwa raised the siege, and took post with his allies under the walls of Cheetore; whilst the besieged left the untenable Hamirgurh, and joined the relief at Gosoonda. The rival armies were separated only by the Beris river, on whose banks they raised batteries and cannonaded

* I knew him well. He stood six feet six inches, and was bulky in proportion. His limbs rivalled those of the Hercules Farnese. His father was nearly seven feet, and died at the early age of twenty-two, in a vain attempt to keep down, by regimen and medicine, his enormous bulk.

each other, when a dispute arose in the victor camp regarding the pay of the troops, between Bala Rao (brother of Umbaji) and Nana, and the latter withdrew and retreated to Sanganer. Thus disunited, it might have been expected that these congregated masses would have dissolved, or fallen upon each other, when the Rajpoots might have given the *coup de grâce* to the survivors ; but they were Mahrattas, and their politics were too complicated to end in simple strife : almost all the actors in these scenes lived to contest with, and be humiliated by, the British.

The defection of Nana equalized the parties ; but Bala Rao, never partial to fighting, opportunely recollected a debt of gratitude to Lukwa, to whose clemency he owed his life when taken by storm in Googul Chupra. He also wanted money to pay his force, which a private overture to Lukwa secured. They met, and Bala Rao retired boasting of his gratitude, to which, and the defection of Nana, soon followed by that of Bapoo Sindhia, the salvation of Lukwa was attributed. Sutherland with a brigade was detached by Umbaji to aid Nana ; but a dispute depriving him of this reinforcement, he called in a partizan of more celebrity, the brave George Thomas. Umbaji's lieutenant and Lukwa were once more equal foes, and the Rana, his chiefs and subjects being distracted between these conflicting bands, whose leaders alternately paid their respects to him, were glad to obtain a little repose by espousing the cause of either combatant, whose armies during the monsoon encamped for six weeks within sight of each other.*

Doorjun Sal (Kheechie), with the nobles of Mewar, hovered round Nana's camp with five thousand horse to cut off his supplies ; but Thomas escorted the convoys from Shapur with his regulars, and defied all their efforts. Thomas at length advanced his batteries against Lukwa, on whose position a general assault was about taking place, when a tremendous storm, with torrents of rain which filled the stream, cut off his batteries from the main body, burst the gates of Shapura, his *point dappui*, and laid the town in ruins.† Lukwa seized the moment, and with the Mewar chiefs stormed and carried the isolated batteries, capturing fifteen pieces of cannon ; and the

* Both camps were on the right bank of the Bunas : Lukwa's at Amlee, about ten miles south of Shapura, and Nana's at Kadaira, between these towns.

† Lukwa at this time (*a*) put the Shapura Raja in possession of the important fortress and district of Jehajpoor, which, although the Rana consented to it, covertly receiving from the Raja two lacs of Rupees, disgusted the nobles with Lukwa.

(*a*) S. 1856 (A. D. 1800).

Shapura Raja, threatened at once by his brother-nobles and the vengeance of heaven, refused further provision to Nana, who was compelled to abandon his position and retreat to Sanganer. The discomfited lieutenant vowed vengeance against the estates of the Mewar chieftains, and after the rains, being reinforced by Umbaji, again took the field. Then commenced a scene of carnage, pillage, and individual defence. The whole of the Chondawut estates under the Aravali range were laid waste, their castles assaulted, some taken and destroyed, and heavy sums levied on all. Thomas besieged Deogurh and Amait and both fought and paid. Kossitul and Lusani were captured, and the latter razed for its gallant resistance. Thus they were proceeding in the work of destruction, when Umbaji was dispossessed of the government of Hindusthan, to which Lukwa was nominated,* and Nana was compelled to surrender all the fortresses and towns he held in Mewar.

From this period must be dated the pretensions of Sindhia to consider Mewar as tributary to him. We have traced the rise of the Mahrattas, and the progress of their baneful influence in Mewar. The abstractions of territory from S. 1826 to 1831, as pledges for contributions, satisfied their avarice till 1848, when the Saloombra rebellion brought the great Sindhia to Cheetore, leaving Umbaji as his lieutenant with a subsidiary force, to recover the Rana's lost possessions. We have related how these conditions were fulfilled; how Umbaji, inflated with the wealth of Mewar, assumed almost regal dignity in Hindusthan, assigning the devoted land to be governed by his deputies, whose contest with other aspirants made this unhappy region the stage for constant struggles for supremacy; and while the secret policy of Zalim Sing stimulated the Suktawuts to cling to Umbaji, the Chondawuts gave their influence and interest to his rival Lukwa. The unhappy Rana and the peasantry paid for this rivalry; while Sindhia, whose power was now in its zenith, fastened one of his desultory armies on Mewar, in contravention of former treaties, without any definite views or even instructions to its commander. It was enough that a large body should supply itself without assailing him for prey, and whose services were available when required.

Lukwa, the new viceroy, marched to Mewar: Aggurji Mehta was appointed minister to the Rana, and the Chondawuts again came into power. For the sum of six lacs Lukwa dispossessed the Shapura of Jehajpur, for the liquidation of which

* Balabha Tantia and Bukshu Narrain Rao were Sindhia's ministers at this period, of the same tribe (the Sainowee) as Lukwa.

thirty-six of its towns were mortgaged. Zalim Sing, who had long been manœuvring to obtain Jehajpur, administered to the necessities of the Mahratta, paid the note of hand, and took possession of the city and its villages. A contribution of twenty-four lacs was imposed throughout the country, and levied by force of arms, after which first act of the new viceroy he quitted Mewar for Jeypur, leaving jesswunt Rao Bhow as his deputy, Moujee Ram, the deputy of Aggurji (the Rana's minister), determined to adopt the European mode of discipline, now become general amongst all the native powers of India, But when the chiefs were called upon to contribute to the support of mercenary regulars, and a field-artillery, they evinced their patriotism by confining this zealous minister. Suttidas was once more placed in power, and his brother Sheodas recalled from Kotah, whither he had fled from the Chondawuts, who now appropriated to themselves the most valuable portions of the Rana's personal domain.

The battle of Indore, in A. D. 1802, where at least 150,000 men assemled to dispute the claim to predatory empire, wrested the ascendancy from Holkar, who lost his guns, equipage, and capital, from which he fled to Mewar, pursued by Sindhia's victorious army led by Sudasheo and Bala Rao. In his flight he plundered Rutlam, and passing Bheendir, the castle of the Suktawut chief, he demanded a contribution, from which and his meditated visit to Oodipur, the Rana and his vassal were saved by the activity of the pursuit. Failing in these objects, Holkar retreated on Nathdwarra, the celebrated shrine of the Hindu Apollo. It was here this active soldier first shewed symptoms of mental derangement. He upbraided Crishna, while prostrate before his image, for the loss of his victory; and levied, three lacs of rupees on the priests and inhabitants, several of whom he carried to his camp as hostages for the payment. The portal (*dwarra*) of the god (*Nath*) proving no bar either to Toork or equally impious Mahratta, Damodurji, the high priest, removed the God of Vrij from his pedestal and sent him with his establishment to Oodipur for protection. The Chohan chief of Kotario (one of the sixteen nobles), in whose estate was the sacred fane, undertook the duty, and with twenty horsemen, his vassals, escorted the shepherd god by intricate passes to the capital. On his return he was intercepted by a band of Holkar's troops, who insultingly desired the surrender of their horses. But the descendant of the illustrious Pirthwi Raj preferred death to dishonour: dismounting, he hamstrung his steed, commanding his vassals to follow his example; and sword in hand courted his fate in the unequal conflict, in which he fell, with most of his gallant retainers. There are many such iso-

ated exploits in the records of this eventful period, of which the Chohans of Kotario had their full share. Spoil, from whatever source, being welcome to these depredators, Nathdwarra * remained long abandoned; and Apollo, after six months' residence at Oodipur, finding insufficient protection, took another flight to the mountains of Gassyar, where the high priest threw up fortifications for his defence; and spiritual thunders being disregarded, the pontiff henceforth buckled on the armour of flesh, and at the head of four hundred cavaliers, with lance and shield, visited the minor shrines in his extensive diocese.

To return to Holkar. He pursued his route by Bunera and Shapura, levying from both, to Ajmeer, where he distributed a portion of the offerings of the followers of Crishna amongst the priests of Mahommed at the mosque of Khwaja Peer. Thence he proceeded towards Jeypur. Sindhia's leaders on reaching Mewar renounced the pursuit, and Oodipur was cursed with their presence, when three lacs of rupees were extorted from the unfortunate Rana, raised by the sale of household effects and the jewels of the females of his family. Jesswunt Rao Bhow, the soobadar of Mewar, had prepared another schedule (*pandri*), which he left with Tantia, his deputy, to realize. Then followed the usual scene of conflict—the attack of the chieftain's estates, distraining of the husbandman, seizure of his cattle, and his captivity for ransom, or his exile.

The celebrated Lukwa, disgraced by his prince, died at this time † in sanctuary at Saloombra; and Bala Rao, brother to Umbaji, returned, and was joined by the Suktawuts and the minister Suttidas, who expelled the Chondawuts for their control over the prince. Zalim Sing, in furtherance of his schemes and through hatred of the Chondawuts, united himself to this faction, and Devi Chund, minister to the Rana, set up by the Chondawuts, was made prisoner. Bala Rao levied and destroyed their estates with unexampled ferocity, which produced a bold attempt at deliverance. The Chondawut leaders assembled at the Chougan (the *Camp de Mars*) to consult on their safety. The insolent Mahratta had preceded them to the palace, demanding the surrender of the minister's deputy, Moujee Ram. The Rana indignantly refused them—the Mahratta importuned, threatened, and at length commanded his troops to advance to the palace, when the intrepid minister pinioned the audacious plunderer, and secured his adherents (including their old enemy, Nana Gunes), Jumalkur, and Ooda

* Five and twenty miles north of Oodipur. On this subject we shal have much to say hereafter.

† S. 1859 (A. D. 1803).

Kooer. The latter, a notorious villain, had an elephant's chain put round his neck, while Bala Rao was confined in a bath. The leaders thus arrested, the Chondawuts sallied forth and attacked their camp in the valley, which surrendered; though the regulars under Hearsay retreated in a hollow square, and reached Gadermala in safety. Zalim Sing determined to liberate his friend Bala Rao from peril; and aided by the Suktawuts under the chiefs of Bheedir and Lawah, advanced to the Chaija pass, one of the defiles leading to the capital. Had the Rana put these chiefs to instant death, he would have been justified, although he would have incurred the resentment of the whole Mahratta nation. Instead of this, he put himself at the head of a motely levy of six thousand Sindhies, Arabs, and Goseins, with the brave Jey Sing and a band of his gallant Kheechies, ever ready to poise the lance against a Mahratta. They defended the pass for five days against a powerful artillery. At length the Rana was compelled to liberate Bala Rao, and Zalim Sing obtained by this interference possession of the fortress and entire district of Jehajpur. A schedule or war contribution, the usual final to these events, followed Bala's liberation, and no means were left untried to realize the exaction, before Holkar, then approaching, could contest the spoil.

This chief having recruited his shattered forces, again left the south. * Rheendir felt his resentment for non-compliance with his demands on his retreat after the battle of Indore; the town was nearly destroyed, but spared for two lacs of rupees, for the payment of which villages were assigned. Thence he repaired to Oodipur, being met by Ajit Sing, the Rana's ambassador, when the enormous sum of forty lacs, or £500,000, was demanded from the country, of which one-third was commanded to be instantly forthcoming. The palace was denuded of everything which could be converted into gold; the females were deprived of every article of luxury and comfort: by which, with contributions levied on the city, twelve lacs were obtained; while hostages from the household of the Rana and chief citizens were delivered as security for the remainder, and immured in the Mahratta camp. Holkar then visited the Rana. Lawah and Bednore were attacked, taken, and restored on large payments. Deogurh alone was mulcted four and a half lacs. Having devastated Mewar during eight months, Holkar marched to Hindusthan, † Ajit Sing accompanying him as the Rana's

* In S. 1860 (A. D. 1804.)

† At this juncture an officer of Holkar's, Hurnat Chela on passing through Bansein, had some camels carried off by the Bhils of the Satola estate. Hurnat summoned Golab Sing Chondawut, who came with eight of his relatives, when he was told he should be detained till the cattle were

representative; while Bala Ram Seth was left to levy the balance of the forty lacs. Holkar had reached Shapura when Sindhia entered Mewar, and their camps formed a junction to allow the leaders to organize their mutual plans of hostility to the British Government. These chieftains, in their efforts to cope with the British power, had been completely humiliated, and their resources broken. But Rajasthan was made to pay the penalty of British success, which rivetted her chains, and it would be but honest, now we have the power, to diminish that penalty.

The rainy season of A. D. 1805 found Sindhia and Holkar encamped in the plains of Bednore, desirous, but afraid, to seek revenge in the renewal of war. Deprived of all power in Hindusthan, and of the choicest territory north and south of the Nerbudda, with numerous discontented armies now let loose on these devoted countries, their passions inflamed by defeat, and blind to every sentiment of humanity, they had no alternative to pacify the soldiery and replenish their own ruined resources but indiscriminate pillage. It would require a pen powerful as the pencil of Salvator Rosa to paint the horrors which filled up the succeeding ten years, to which the author was an eyewitness, destined to follow in the train of rapine, and to view in the traces of Mahratta camps the desolation and political annihilation of all the central states of India,* several of which aided the British in their early struggles for dominion, but were now allowed to fall without a helping hand, the scapegoats of our successes. Peace between the Mahrattas and British was, however, doubtful, as Sindhia made the restoration of the rich provinces of Gohud and Gwalior a *sine qua non*: and unhappily for their legitimate ruler, who had been inducted into the seat of his forefathers, a Governor-General (Lord Cornwallis) of ancient renown, but in the decline of life, with views totally unsuited to the times, abandoned our

restored; and in the morning, as the Mahratta mounted his elephant, he commanded the Raghaut chieftain to be seized. Golab drew his sword and made at Hurnat, but his sword broke in the howda, when he plunged his dagger into the elephant; but at length, with all his relations, who nobly plied their swords on the Mahrattas, was cut to pieces.

* The Rana of Gohud and Gwalior, the Kheechie chiefs of Ragoogurh and Buhadoorgurh, and the Nabob of Bhopal, made common cause with us in Warren Hastings' time. The three first possess not a shadow of independence; the latter fortunately formed a link in our own policy, and Lord Hastings, in 1818, repaid with liberal interest the services rendered to the government of Warren Hastings in 1782. It was in his power, with equal facility, to have rescued all the other states, and to have claimed the same measure of gratitude which Bhopal is proud to avow. But there was a fatality in the desire to maintain terms with Sindhia, whose treachery to our power was overlooked.

allies, and renounced all for peace, sending an ambassador* to Sindhia to reunite the bonds of "perpetual friendship".

The Mahratta leaders were anxious, if the war should be renewed, to shelter their families and valuables in the strong-holds of Mewar, and their respective camps became the rendezvous of the rival factions. Sirdar Sing, the organ of the Chondawuts, represented the Rana at Sindhia's court, at the head of whose councils Umbaji had just been placed.† His rancour to the Rana was implacable, from the support given in self-defence to his political antagonist, Lukwa, and he agitated the partition of Mewar amongst the great Mahratta leaders. But whilst his baneful influence was preparing this result, the credit of Sangram Suktawut with Holkar counteracted it. It would be unfair and ungallant not to record that a fair suitor, the Baeza Bae, Sindhia's wife, powerfully contributed to the Rana's preservation on this occasion. This lady, the daughter of the notorious Surji Rao, had unbounded power over Sindhia. Her sympathies were awakened in behalf of the supreme head of the Rajpoot nation, of which blood she had to boast, though she was now connected with the Mahrattas. Even the hostile clans stifled their animosities on this occasion, and Sirdar Sing Chondawut left Sindhia's camp to join his rival Sangram with Holkar, and aided by the upright Kishen-das Pancholi, united in their remonstrances, asking Holkar if he had given his consent to sell Mewar to Umbaji. Touched by the picture of the Rana's and their country's distresses, Holkar swore it should not be; advised unity amongst themselves, and caused the representatives of the rival clans "*to eat opium together.*" Nor did he stop here, but with the envoys repaired to Sindhia's tents, descanted on the Rana's high descent, "the master of their master's master" ‡ urging that it did not become them to overwhelm him, and that they should even renounce the mortgaged lands which their fathers had too long unjustly held, himself setting the example by the restitution of Neembahaira. To strengthen his argument, he expatiated with Sindhia on the policy of conciliating the Rana, whose strong-holds might be available in the event of a renewal of hostilities with the British. Sindhia appeared a convert

* The author, then a subaltern, was attached to the suite of the ambassador, Mr. Græme Mercer. He left the subsidiary force at Gwalior in December 1805, and the embassy reached Sindhia's court in the spring of 1806, then encamped amidst the ruins of Mewar.

† The ministers of Sindhia were Umbaji, Bapoo Chitnavees, Madhuba Huzooria, and Anaji Bhasker.

‡ That is, chief of the race from which issued the Sitarra sovereigns, whose minister, the Peshwa, accounted Sindhia and Holkar his feudatories.

to his views, and retained the envoys in his camp. The Mahratta camps were twenty miles apart, and incessant torrents of rain had for some days prevented all intercourse. In this interim, Holkar received intelligence that Bhiroo Bux, as envoy from the Rana, was in Lord Lake's camp negotiating for the aid of British troops, then at Tonk, to drive the Mahrattas from Mewar. The incensed Holkar sent for the Rana's ambassadors, and assailed them with a torrent of reproach; accusing them of treachery, he threw the newspaper containing the information at Kishen-das, asking if that were the way in which the Mewarries kept faith with him? "I cared not to break with Sindhia in support of your master, and while combating the Fringies (Franks), when all Hindus should be as brothers, your sovereign the Rana, who boasts of not acknowledging the supremacy of Delhi, is the first to enter into terms with them. Was it for this I prevented Umbaji being fastened on you?" Kishen-das here interrupted and attempted to pacify him, when Alikur Tantia, Holkar's minister, stopped him short, observing to his prince, "You see the faith of these *Rangras*;* they would disunite you and Sindhia, and ruin both. Shake them off: be reconciled to Sindhia, dismiss Surji Rao, and let Umbaji be Soobadar of Mewar, or I will leave you and take Sindhia into Malwa." The other councillors, with the exception of Bhow Bhasker, seconded this advice: Surji Rao was dismissed; and Holkar proceeded northward, where he was encountered and pursued to the Punjab by the British under the intrepid and enterprizing Lake, who dictated terms to the Mahratta at the altars of Alexander.

Holkar had the generosity to stipulate, before his departure from Mewar, for the security of the Rana and his country, telling Sindhia he should hold him personally amenable to him if Umbaji were permitted to violate his guarantee. But in his misfortunes this threat was disregarded, and a contribution of sixteen lacs was levied immediately on Mewar; Sudasheo Rao, with Baptiste's brigade, was detached from the camp in June 1806, for the double purpose of levying it, and driving from Oodipur a detachment of the Jeypur prince's troops, bringing proposals and preliminary presents for this prince's marriage with the Rana's daughter.

It would be imagined that the miseries of Rana Bheem were not susceptible of aggravation, and that fortune had done her worst to humble him; but his pride as a sovereign

* Rangra is an epithet applied to the Rajpoots, implying turbulent, from '*ring*,' strife.

and his feelings as a parent were destined to be yet more deeply wounded. The Jeypur *cortege* had encamped near the capital, to the number of three thousand men, while the Rana's acknowledgements of acceptance were despatched, and had reached Shapura. But Raja Maun of Marwar also advanced pretensions, founded on the princess having been actually betrothed to his predecessor; and urging that the throne of Marwar, and not the individual occupant, was the object, he vowed resentment and opposition if his claims were disregarded. These were suggested, it is said, by his nobles to cloak their own views; and promoted by the Chondawuts (then in favour with the Rana) whose organ, Ajit, was bribed to further them, contrary to the decided wishes of their prince.

Krishna Kumari (the *Virgin* Krishna) was the name of the lovely object, the rivalry for whose hand assembled under the banners of her suitors, (Juggut Sing, of Jeypur, and Raja Maun of Marwar,) not only their native chivalry, but all the predatory powers of India; and who like Helen of old, involved in destruction her own, and the rival houses. Sindhia having been denied a pecuniary demand by Jeypur, not only opposed the nuptials, but aided the claims of Raja Maun, by demanding of the Rana the dismissal of the Jeypur embassy; which being refused, he advanced his brigades and batteries, and after a fruitless resistance, in which the Jeypur troops joined, forced the pass, threw a corps of eight thousand men into the valley, and following in person, encamped within cannon-range of the city. The Rana had now no alternative but to dismiss the nuptial *cortege*, and agree to whatever was demanded. Sindhia remained a month in the valley, during which an interview took place between him and the Rana at the shrine of Eklinga.*

* To increase his importance, Sindhia invited the British envoy and suite to be present on the occasion, when the princely demeanour of the Rana and his sons was advantageously contrasted with that of the Mahratta and his suite. It was in this visit that the regal abode of this ancient race, its isles and palaces, acted with irresistible force on the cupidity of this *scion of the plough*, who aspired to, yet dared not sit himself in, "the halls of the Cæsars." It was even surmised that his hostility to Jeypur was not so much from the refused war-contribution, as from a mortifying negative to an audacious desire to obtain the hand of this princess himself.

The impression made on the author upon this occasion by the miseries and noble appearance of "this descendant of a hundred kings," was never allowed to weaken, but kindled an enthusiastic desire for the restoration of his fallen condition, which stimulated his perseverance to obtain that knowledge by which alone he might be enabled to benefit

The heralds of Hymen being thus rudely repulsed and its symbols intercepted, the Jeypur prince prepared to avenge his insulted pride and disappointed hopes, and accordingly arrayed a force such as had not assembled since the empire was in its glory. Raja Maun eagerly took up the gauntlet of his rival, and headed "*the swords of Maroo.*" But dissension prevailed in Marwar, where rival claimants for the throne had divided the loyalty of the clans, introducing there also the influence of the Mahrattas. Raja Maun, who had acquired the sceptre by party aid, was obliged to maintain himself by it, and to pursue the demoralizing policy of the period by ranging his vassals against each other. These nuptials gave the malcontents an opportunity to display their long-curbed resentments, and following the example of Mewar, they set up a pretender, whose interests were eagerly espoused, and whose standard was erected in the array of Jeypur; the prince at the head of 120,000 men advancing against his rival, who with less then half the number met him at Purbutsir, on their mutual frontier. The action was short, for while a heavy cannonade opened on either side, the majority of the Marwar nobles went over to the pretender. Raja Maun turned his poniard against himself: but some chiefs yet faithful to him wrested the weapon from his hand, and conveyed him from the field. He was pursued to his capital, which was invested, besieged, and gallantly defended during six months. The town was at length taken and plundered, but the castle of Joda "laughed a siege to scorn;" in time with the aid of finesse, the mighty host of Jeypur, which had consumed the forage of these arid plains for twenty miles around, began to crumble away; intrigue spread through every rank, and the siege ended in pusillanimity and flight. The Xerxes of Rajwarra, the effeminate Cutchwaha, alarmed at length for his personal safety, sent on the spoils of Purbutsir and Jodpur to his capital; but the brave nobles of Marwar, drawing the line between loyalty and patriotism, and determined that no trophy of Rahtore degradation should be conveyed by the Cutchwahas from Marwar, attacked the *cortege* and redeemed the symbols of their disgrace. The colossal array of the invader was soon dismembered, and the

him. Then a young *Sub*, his hopes of success were more sanguine than wise; but he trusted to the rapid march of events, and the discordant elements by which he was surrounded, to effect the redemption of the prince from thraldom. It was long a dream—but after ten years of anxious hope, at length realized—and he had the gratification of being instrumental in snatching the family from destruction, and subsequently of raising the country to comparative prosperity.

„lion of the world" (Juggut Sing) humbled and crestfallen, skulked from the desert retreat of his rival, indebted to a partizan corps for safety and convoy to his capital, around whose walls the wretched remnants of this ill-starred confederacy long lagged in expectation of their pay, while the bones of their horses and the ashes of their riders whitened the plain, and rendered it a Golgotha.*

By the aid of one of the most notorious villains India ever produced, the Nawab Ameer Khan, the pretender's party was treacherously annihilated. This man with his brigade of artillery and horse was amongst the most efficient of the foes of Raja Maun; but the *auri sacra fames* not only made him desert the side on which he came for that of the Raja, but for a specific sum offer to rid him of the pretender and all his associates. Like Judas, he kissed whom he betrayed, took service with the pretender, and at the shrine of a saint of his own faith exchanged turbans with their leaders; and while the too credulous Rajpoot chieftains celebrated this acquisition to their party in the very sanctuary of hospitality, crowned by the dance and the song, the tents were cut down, and the victims thus enveloped, slaughtered in the midst of festivity by showers of grape.

Thus finished the under-plot; but another and more noble victim was demanded before discomfited ambition could repose, or the curtain drop on this eventful drama. Neither party would relinquish his claim to the fair object of the war; and the torch of discord could be extinguished only in her blood. To the same ferocious Khan is attributed the unhallowed suggestion, as well as its compulsory execution. The scene was now changed from the desert castle of Joda to the smiling valley of Oodipur, soon to be filled with funereal lamentation.

Krishna Kumari Bae, the "Virgin Princess Krishna," was in her sixteenth year: her mother was of the Chawura race, the ancient kings of Anhulwara. Sprung from the noblest blood of Hind, she added beauty of face and person to an engaging demeanour, and was justly proclaimed the "flower of Rajasthan." When the Roman father pierced the bosom of the dishonoured Virginia, appeased virtue applauded the deed. When Iphigenia was led to the sacrificial alter, the salvation of her country yielded a noble consolation. The votive victim of Jephtha's success had the triumph of a

* I witnessed the commencement and the end of this drama, and have conversed with actors in all the intermediate scenes. In June 1806 the passes of Oodipur were forced; and in January 1808, when I passed through Jeypur in a solitary ramble, the fragments of this contest were scattered over its sandy pl[illegible]

father's fame to sustain her resignation, and in the meekness of her sufferings we have the best parallel to the sacrifice of the lovely Krishna: though years have passed since the barbarous immolation, it is never related but with a faltering tongue and moistened eyes, "albeit unused to the melting mood."

The rapacious and blood-thirsty Pathan, covered with infamy, repaired to Oodipur, where he was joined by the pliant and subtle Ajit. Meek in his demeanour, unostentatious in his habits; despising honours, yet covetous of power,—religion, which he followed with the zeal of an ascetic, if it did not serve as a cloak, was at least no hindrance to an immeasurable ambition, in the attainment of which he would have sacrificed all but himself. When the Pathan revealed his design, that either the princess should wed Raja Maun, or by her death seal the peace of Rajwarra, whatever arguments were used to point the alternative, the Rana was made to see no choice between consigning his beloved child to the Rahtore prince, or witnessing the effects of a more extended dishonour from the vengeance of the Pathan, and the storm of his palace by his licentious adherents:—the fiat passed that Krishna Kumari should die.

But the deed was left for women to accomplish—the hand of man refused it. The Rawula* of an eastern prince is a world within itself; it is the labyrinth containing the strings that move the puppets which alarm mankind. Here intrigue sits enthrone[illegible] and hence its influence radiates to the world, always at a l[illegible] trace effects to their causes. Maharaja Dowlut Sing[illegible] descended four generations ago from one common anc[illegible] with the Rana, was first sounded "to save the hono[illegible] of Oodipur;" but horror-struck, he exclaimed, "accurs[illegible] the ton[illegible] that commands it! Dust on my allegiance if thus to be preserved!" The Maharaja Jowandas, a natural brother, was then called upon; the dire necessity was explained, and it was u[illegible] that no common hand could be armed for the purpo[illegible] cepted the poniard, but when in youthf[illegible] lovelin[illegible]a appeared before him, the dagger fell from his ha[illegible]nd he returned more wretched than the victim. The fatal purpose thus revealed, the shrieks of the frantic mother reverberated through the palace, as she implored mercy, or execrated the murderers of her child, who alone was resigned to her fate. But death was arrested, not averted. To use the phrase of the narrator, "she was excused the steel—the cup was prepared,"—and prepared by

* Harem.

† I knew him well—a plain honest man.

female hands! As the messenger presented it in the name of her father, she bowed and drank it, sending up a prayer for his life and prosperity. The raving mother poured imprecations on his head, while the lovely victim, who shed not a tear, thus endeavoured to console her: "Why afflict yourself, my mother, at this shortening of the sorrows of life? I fear not to die! Am I not your daughter? Why should I fear death? We are marked out for sacrifice * from our birth; we scarcely enter the world but to be sent out again; let me thank my father that I have lived so long!"† Thus she conversed till the nauseating draught refused to assimilate with her blood. Again the bitter potion was prepared. She drained it off, and again it was rejected; but, as if to try the extreme of human fortitude, a third was administered; and, for the third time, Nature refused to aid the horrid purpose. It seemed as if the fabled charm, which guarded the life of the founder of her race,‡ was inherited by the Virgin Krishna. But the bloodhounds, the Pathan and Ajit, were impatient till their victim was at rest; and cruelty, as if gathering strength from defeat, made another and a fatal attempt. A powerful opiate was presented—*the kasoomba draught.*§ She

* Alluding to the custom of infanticide—here, very rare; indeed almost unknown.

† With my mind engrossed with the scenes in which I had passed the better part of my life, I went two months after my return from Rajpootana, in 1823, to York Cathedral, to attend the memorable festival of that year. The sublime recitations of Handel in "Jephtha's Vow," the sonorous woe of Sapio's "Deeper and deeper still," powerfully recalled the sad exit of the Rajpootni; and the representation shortly after of Racim's tragedy of "Iphigenie," with Talma, Mademoiselle, Duchesnois as Clytemnestre, and a very interesting per[illegible] the victim daughter of Agamemnon, again served to waken [illegible] remembrance of this sacrifice. The following passage, embodying not only the sentiments, but couched in the precise language in which the "Virgin Krishna" addressed her father—proving that human nature has but one mode of expression for the same feelings—I am tempted to transcribe:

"[illegible] père,
Cessez de vous troubler, vous n'êtes [illegible]
Quand vous commanderez, vous serez [illegible]
Ma vie est votre bien. Vous voulez le reprendre,
Vos ordres, sans détour pouvaient se faire entendre
D'un œil aussi content, d'un cœur aussi soumis,
Que j'acceptais l'époux que vous m'aviez promis,
Je saurai, s'il le faut, victime obéissante
Tendre au fer de Calchas une téte innocente;
Et respectant le coup per vous-méme ordonné,
Vous rendre tout le sang que vous m'avez donne."

‡ Bappa Rawul.

§ The kasoomba draught is made of flowers and herbs of a cooling quality; into this an opiate was introduced.

received it with a smile, wished the scene over, and drank it. The desires of barbarity were accomplished. "She slept!"* a sleep from which she never awoke.

The wretched mother did not long survive her child; nature was exhausted in the ravings of despair; she refused food; and her remains in a few days followed those of her daughter to the funeral pyre.

Even the ferocious Khan, when the instrument of his infamy, Ajit, reported the issue, received him with contempt, and spurned him from his presence, tauntingly asking "if this were the boasted Rajpoot valour?" But the wily traitor had to encounter language far more bitter from his political adversary, whom he detested. Sangram Suktawut reached the capital only four days after the catastrophe—a man in every respect the reverse of Ajit; audaciously brave, he neither feared the frown of his sovereign nor the sword of his enemy. Without introduction he rushed into the presence, where he found seated the traitor Ajit. "Oh dastard! who hast thrown dust on the Seesodia race, whose blood which has flowed in purity through a hundred ages has now been defiled! this sin will check its course for ever; a blot so foul in our annals that no Seesodia† will ever again hold up his head! A sin to which no punishment were equal. But the end of our race is approaching! The line of Bappa Rawul is at an end! Heaven has ordained this, a signal of our destruction." The Rana hid his face with his hands, when turning to Ajit, he exclaimed, "thou stain on the Seesodia race, thou impure of Rajpoot blood, dust be on thy head as thou hast covered us all with shame. May you die childless, and your name die with you!‡ Why this indecent haste? Had the Pathan stormed the city? Had he attempted to violate the sanctity of the Rawula? And though he had, could you not die as Rajpoots, like your ancestors? Was it thus they gained a name? Was it thus our race became renowned—thus they opposed the might of kings! Have you forgotten the Sakas of Cheetore? But whom do I address—not Rajpoots? Had the honour of your females been endangered, had you sacrificed them all and rushed sword in hand on the enemy, your name would have lived, and the Almighty would have secured the seed of Bappa Rawul. But to owe preservation to this unhallowed deed! You did not even await the threatened danger. Fear seems to have deprived you of every faculty, or you might have spared the blood of

* The simple but powerful expression of the narrator.
† The tribe of the Rana.
‡ That is, without adoption even to perpetuate it.

Sreejee,† and if you did not scorn to owe your safety to deception, might have substituted some less noble victim! But the end of our race approaches!"

The traitor to manhood, his sovereign, and humanity, durst not reply. The brave Sangram is now dead, but the prophetic anathema has been fulfilled. Of *ninety-five* children, sons and daughters, but one son (the brother of Krishna)‡ is left to the Rana; and though his two remaining daughters, have been recently married to the princes of Jessulmeer and Bikaneer, the Salic law, which is in full force in these states, precludes all honour through female descent. His hopes rest solely on the prince, Juvana Sing,* and though in the flower of youth and health, the marriage bed (albeit boasting no less than four young princesses) has been blessed with no progeny.‖

The elder brother of Juvana¶ died two years ago. Had he lived he would have been Umra the Third. With regard to Ajit, the course has been fully accomplished. Scarcely a month after, his wife and two sons were numbered with the dead; and the hoary traitor has since been wandering from shrine to shrine, performing penance and alms in expiation of his sins, yet unable to fling from him ambition; and with his beads in one hand, *Rama! Rama!* ever on his tongue, and subdued passion in his looks, his heart is deceitful as ever. Enough of him: let us exclaim with Sangram, "*Dust on his head*,"§ which all the waters of the Ganges could not purify from the blood of the virgin Krishna, but

"rather would the multitudinous sea incarnadine."

† A respectful epithet to the prince—*sire*.

‡ By the same mother.

* He was nearly carried off by that awful scourge, the cholera, and, singular to remark, was the first person attacked at Oodipur. I remained by his bed-side during the progress of this terrible visitation, and never shall I forget his grateful exclamation of surprise, when after a salutary sleep he opened his eyes to health. Sheerjee Mehta, his cheif adviser and manager of his estates, merry as ever, though the heir of Mewar was given over, was seized with the complaint as his master recovered—was dead and his ashes blanching on the sands of the streamlet of Ar within twelve hours! Jovial and good-humoured as he was, "we could have better spared a better man." He was an adept in intrigue; of Umbaji's school; and till death shall extinguish the whole of this, and better morals are born, the country will but slowly improve.

‖ Since this work has gone to press: the author has been rejoiced to find that an heir has been born from the last marriage by a princess of Rewah of the Bhagela tribe.

¶ See genealogical descendants of Rana Juggut Sing. Appendix, No. VIII.

§ This was written at Oodipur in 1820. This old intriguer then attempted to renew the past, as the organ of the Chondawuts, but his

His coadjutor, Ameer Khan, is now linked by treaties "in amity and unity of interests" with the sovereigns of India; and though he has carried mourning into every house of Rajasthan, yet charity might hope forgiveness would be extended to him, could he cleanse himself from this deed of horror—"throwing this pearl away, richer than all his tribe!" His career of rapine has terminated with the caresses of the blind goddess, and placed him on a pinnacle to which his sword would never have traced the path. Enjoying the most distinguished post amongst the foreign chieftains of Holkar's state, having the regulars and park under his control, with large estates for their support, he added the epithet of traitor to his other titles, when the British government, adopting the leading maxim of Asiatic policy, "*divide et impera*," guaranteed to him the sovereignty of these districts on his abandoning the Mahrattas, disbanding his legions, and surrendering the park. But though he personally fulfilled not, nor could fulfil, one single stipulation, this man, whose services were not worth the pay of a single sepoy,—who fled from his camp* unattended, and sought personal protection in that of the British commander,—claimed and obtained the full price of our pledge, the sovereignty of about one-third of his master's dominions; and the districts of Seronge, Tonk, Rampura, and Neembahaira, form the domain of the *Nawab Ameer Khan*, &c. &c. &c.!! This was in the fitful fever of success, when our arms were everywhere triumphant. But were the viceroy of Hind to summon the forty tributaries† now covered by the ægis of British protection to a meeting, the murderer of Krishna would still occupy a place (though low) in this illustrious divan. Let us hope that his character being known, he would feel himself ill at ease; and let us dismiss him likewise in the words of Sangram, "*Dust on his heaa !*"

The mind sickens at the contemplation of these unvarying scenes of atrocity; but this unhappy state had yet to pass through two more lustres of aggravated sufferings (to which the author of these annals was an eye-witness) before their termination, upon the alliance of Mewar with Britain. From

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scheme ended in exile to the sacred city of Benares; and there he may now be seen with his rosary on the consecrated *ghat* of the Ganges.

* Brigadier-General Alexander Knox had the honour of dissolving these bands in the only way worthy of us. He marched his troops to take their guns and disperse their legions; and, when in order of battle, the gallant General taking out his watch, gave them half-an-hour to reflect, their commander Jamshid, second only in villany to his master, deeming "discretion the better part of valour," surrendered.

† There are full this number of princes holding under the British.

the period of the forcing of the passes, the dismissal of the Jeypur embassy by Sindhia, and the murder of Krishna Kumari, the embassy of Britain was in the train of the Mahratta leader, a witness of the evils described—a most painful predicament—when the hand was stretched out for succour in vain, and the British flag waved in the centre of desolation, unable to afford protection. But this day of humiliation is past, thanks to the predatory hordes who goaded us on to their destruction; although the work was incomplete, a nucleus being imprudently left in Sindhia for the scattered particles again to form.

In the spring of 1806, when the embassy entered the once-fertile Mewar, from whose native wealth the monuments the pencil will pourtray were erected, nothing but ruin met the eye—deserted towns, roofless houses, and uncultured plains. Wherever the Mahratta encamped, annihilation was ensured; it was a habit; and twenty-four hours sufficed to give to the most flourishing spot the aspect of a desert. The march of destruction was always to be traced for days afterwards by burning villages and destroyed cultivation. Some satisfaction may result from the fact, that there was scarcely an actor in these unhallowed scenes whose end was not fitted to his career. Umbaji was compelled to disgorge the spoils of Mewar, and his personal sufferings made some atonement for the ills he had inflicted upon her. This satrap, who had almost established his independence in the fortress and territory of Gwalior, suffered every indignity from Sindhia, whose authority he had almost thrown off. He was confined in a mean tent, manacled, suffered the torture of small lighted torches applied to his fingers, and even attempted suicide to avoid the surrender of his riches; but the instrument (an English penknife) was inefficient: the surgeon to the British embassy sewed up the wounds, and his coffers were eased of fifty-five lacs of rupees! Mewar was, however, once more delivered over to him; he died shortly after. If report be correct, the residue of his treasures was possessed by his ancient ally, Zalim Sing. In this case, the old politician derived the chief advantage of the intrigues of S. 1848, without the crimes attendant on the acquisition.

Sindhia's father-in-law, when expelled that chief's camp, according to the treaty, enjoyed the ephemeral dignity of minister to the Rana, when he abstracted the most valuable records, especially those of the revenue.

Komulmeer was obtained by the minister Suttidas from Jesswunt Rao Bhow for seventy thousand rupees, for which assignments were given on this district, of which he retained possession. Meer Khan in A. D. 1809 led his myrmidons to

the capital, threatening the demolition of the temple of Eklinga if refused a contribution of eleven lacs of rupees. Nine were agreed to, but which by no effort could be raised, upon which the Rana's envoys were treated with indignity, and Kishen-das * wounded. The passes were forced, Meer Khan entering by Dobarri, and his coadjutor and son-in-law, the notorious Jamshid, by the Cheerwa, which made but a feeble resistance. The ruffian Pathans were billetted on the city, subjecting the Rana to personal humiliation, and Jamshid† left with his licentious Rohillas in the capital. The traces of their barbarity are to be seen in its ruins. No woman could safely venture abroad, and a decent garment or turban was sufficient to attract their cupidity.

In S. 1867 (A.D. 1811) Bapoo Sindhia arrived with the title of Soobadar, and encamped in the valley, and from this to 1814 these vampires, representing Sindhia and Meer Khan, possessed themselves of the entire fiscal domain, with many of the fiefs, occasionally disputing for the spoils; to prevent which they came to a conference at the *Dhola Mugra* (the white hill), attended by a deputation‡ from the Rana, when the line of demarcation was drawn between the spoilers. A schedule was formed of the towns and villages yet inhabited, the amount to be levied from each specified, and three and a half lacs adjudged to Jamshid, with the same sum to Sindhia; but this treaty was not better kept than the former ones. Mewar was rapidly approaching dissolution, and every sign of civilization fast disappearing; fields laid waste, cities in ruins, inhabitants exiled, chieftains demoralized, the prince and his family destitute of common comforts. Yet had Sindhia the audacity to demand compensation for the loss of his tribute stipulated to Bapoo Sindhia,§ who rendered Mewar a desert,

* This veteran attended me during all these troubles, as the medium of communication with the Rana. Though leagued with the Chondawuts, he was a loyal subject and good servant. I saw him expire, and was of opinion, as well as the doctor who accompanied me, that his death was caused by poison. The general burst of sorrow from hundreds collected around his house, when the event was announced, is the best encomium on his public character.

† This monstrous villain (for he was a Golliah) died soon after Mewar was rescued, from a cancer in his back.

‡ Sutti-das, Kishen-das, and Roop Ram.

§ Bapoo Sindhia shortly outlived his expulsion from Ajmeer, and as he had to pass through Mewar in his passage to his future residence, he was hooted by the population he had plundered. While I was attending the Rana's court, some one reporting Bapoo Sindhia's arrival at his destination, mentioned that some pieces of ordnance formerly taken from Oodipur had, after saluting him, *exuded a quantity, of water*, which was

carrying her chiefs, her merchants, her farmers, into captivity and fetters in the dungeons of Ajmeer, where many died for want of ransom, and others languished till the treaty with the British, in A. D. 1817, set them free.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Overthrow of the Predatory System—Alliances with the Rajpoot States.—Envoy appointed to Mewar.—Arrives at Oodipur.—Reception.—Description of the Court.—Political Geography of Mewar.—The Rana.—His Character.—His Minister.—Plans.—Exiles recalled.—Merchants invited.—Bhilwara established.—Assembly of the Nobles.—Charter ratified.—Resumptions of Land.—Anecdotes of the Chiefs of Arjah.—Bednore, Bhadaiser, and Amait.—Landed Tenures in Mewar.—Village rule.—Freehold (bapota) *of Mewar.—Bhomia, or allodial Vassals; Character and Privileges.—Great Register of Patents.—Traditions exemplifying right in the Soil.—The Patail; his Origin; Character.—Assessment of Landrents.—General Results.*

THE history of the Rana's family has now been traced through all the vicissitudes of its fortunes, from the second to the nineteenth century, whilst contending for existence alternately with Parthians, Bhils, Tartars, and Mahrattas, till at length it has become tributary to Britain. The last chapter pourtrays the degraded condition of their princes, and the utter desolation of their country, in a picture which embodied the entire Rajpoot race. An era of repose at length dawned upon them. The destruction of that vast predatory system, under the weight of which the prosperity of these regions had so long been repressed, was effected by one short campaign in 1817; which if less brilliant than that of 1803, is inferior to none in political results. The tardy policy of the last named

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received with the utmost gravity by the court, until I remarked they were crying because they should never again be employed in plunder: an idea which caused a little mirth.

period, at length accomplished, placed the power of Britain in the East on an expugnable position, and rescued the Rajpoots from a progressing destruction.

To prevent the recurrence of this predatory system it was deemed politic to unite all these settled states, alike interested with ourselves in its overthrow, in one grand confederation. Accordingly the Rajpoot states were invited to shelter under our protecting alliance; and with one exception (Jeypur), they eagerly embraced the invitation. The ambassadors of the various governments followed each other in quick succession to Delhi, where the treaties were to be negotiated, and in a few weeks all Rajpootana was united to Britain by compacts of one uniform character;* insuring to them external protection with internal independence, as the price of acknowledged supremacy, and a portion of Revenue to the protecting government. By this comprehensive arrangement, we placed a most powerful barrier between our territories and the strong natural frontier of India; and so long as we shall respect their established usages, and by contributing to the prosperity of the people preserve our motives from distrust, it will be a barrier impenetrable to invasion.

Of all the princes who obtained succour at this momentous crisis in the political history of India, none stood more in need of it than the Rana of Oodipur. On the 16th January 1818 the treaty was signed, and in February an envoy was nominated; who immediately proceeded to the Rana's court to superintend and maintain the newly-formed relations.† The right wing of the grand army‡ had already preceded him to compel the surrender of such territory as was unjustly held by the lawless partizans of Sindhia, and to reduce to obedience the refractory nobles, to whom anarchy was endeared from long familiarity. The strong-holds in the plains, as Raepur, Rajnuggur, &c. soon surrendered; and the payment of the arrears of the garrison of Komulmee put this important fortress in our possession.

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* See appendix No. VI. for treaty [illegible] passed

† Commanded by Major-General Sir [illegible] flourishing K. C. B.

‡ The author had the honour to be [illegible] excited by the Marquis of Hastings to represent him at the Rana's court, with the title of "*Political Agent to the Western Rajpoot State.*" During the campaign of 1817-18, he was placed as the point of communication to the various divisions of the northern army; at the same time being entrusted with the negotiations with Holkar (previous to the rupture), and with those of Kotah and Boondi. He concluded the treaty with the latter [illegible] *en route* to Oodipur, where as at the latter, there were only the benefits of moral and political existence to confer.

In his passage from Jehajpur, which guards the range on the east to Komulmeer on the Aravali west, a space of 140 miles, the limits of Mewar, only two thinly-peopled towns were seen which acknowledged the Rana's authority. All was desolate; even the traces of the footsteps of man were effaced. The babool (*mimosa Arabica*), and gigantic reed which harboured the boar and the tiger, grew upon the highways; and every rising ground displayed a mass of ruin. Bhilwara, the commercial *entrepot* of Rajpootana, which ten years before contained six thousand families, shewed not a vestige of existence. All was silent in her streets—no living thing was seen except a solitary dog, that fled in dismay from his lurking-place in the temple, scared at the unaccustomed sight of man.*

An envoy was despatched by the Rana to congratulate the Agent, who joined him in the British camp at Nathdwarra; and while he returned to arrange the formalities of reception, the Agent obtained the cession of Komulmeer; which, with the acquisitions before mentioned, paved the way for a joyful reception. The prince, Juvan Sing, with all the state insignia, and a numerous *corteg*, advanced to receive the mission, and conduct it to the capital. A spot was fixed on in a grove of palmyras, about two miles from the city, where carpets were spread, and where the prince received the Agent and suite in a manner at once courteous and dignified.† Of him it might have been said, in the language applied by Jehangir to the son of Rana Umra—"*His countenance carried the impression of his illustrious extraction.*"

We entered the city‡ by the gate of the sun; and through a vista of ruin the mission was inducted into its future residence, once the abode of the fair Rampeari. Like all the mansions of Rajpootana, it was a quadrangular pile, with an open paved area, the suites of apartments carried round the sides, with latticed or open corridors extending parallel to each suite. Another deputation with the *mejmani*, con-

* The author had [illegible] ugh Bhilwara in May 1806, when it was comparatively [illegible] the Rana. On this occasion (Feb. 1818) it was entirely deserted. [illegible] Donkira smile, in the midst of regrets, to observe the practical wit of some of the soldiers, who had supplied the naked representative of *Ad-nath* with an apron—not of leaves, but scarlet cloth.

† The Agent had seen him when a boy, at a meeting already described; but he could scarcely have hoped to find in one, to the formation of whose character the times had been so unfavourable, such a specimen as this descendant of Pertap.

‡ A description of the city and valley will be more appropriate elsewhere.

sisting of a hundred trays of sweetmeats, dried fruits, and a purse of one thousand rupees for distribution amongst the domestics, brought the Rana's welcome upon our arrival in his capital, and fixed the next day for our introduction at court.

At four in the afternoon, a deputation, consisting of the officiating primeminister, the representative of the Chondawuts, with mace-bearers and a numerous escort, came to announce the Rana's readiness to receive the mission; which, with all the "pomp and circumstance" peculiar to these countries, was marshalled in front of the residency, thronged by crowds of well-dressed inhabitants, silently gazing at the unusual sight.* The grand Nakarras having announced the Rana in court, the mission proceeded through streets which every where presented marks of rapine, hailed by the most enthusiastic greetings. "Jy! jy! Frengi ca Raj!" *victory, victory to the English government!* resounded from every tongue. The bards were not idle; and the unpoetic name of the Agent was hitched into rhyme. Groups of musicians were posted here and there, who gave a passing specimen of the *tuppas* of Mewar; and not a few of the fair, with brazen ewers of water on their heads, welcomed us with the *suhailea*, or song of joy. Into each of these vessels the purse-bearer dropped a piece of silver; for neither the songs of the suhailea, the tuppas of the minstrel, nor encomiastic stave of the bard, are to be received without some acknowledgement that you appreciate their merit and talents, however you may doubt the value they put upon your own. As we ascended the main streets leading to the TRIPOLIA, or triple portal, which guards the sacred enclosure, dense masses of people obstructed our progress; and even the walls of the temple of Juggernath were crowded. According to etiquette, we dismounted at the *Porte*, and proceeded on foot across the ample terrace; on which were drawn up a few elephants and horse, exercising for the Rana's amusement.

The palace is a most imposing pile, of a regular form, built of granite and marble, rising at least a hundred feet from the ground, and flanked with octagonal towers, crowned with cupolas. Although built at various periods, uniformity of design has been very well preserved; nor is there in the east

* The escort consisted of two companies of foot, each of one hundred men, with half a troop of cavalry. The gentlemen attached to the mission were Captain Waugh (who was secretary and commandant of the escort), with Lieutenant Carey as his subaltern. Dr. Duncan was the medical officer.

a more striking or majestic structure. It stands upon the very crest of a ridge running parallel to, but considerably elevated above, the margin of the lake. The terrace, which is at the east and chief front of the palace, extends throughout its length, and is supported by a triple row of arches from the declivity of the ridge. The height of this arcaded wall is full fifty feet; and although all is hollow beneath, yet so admirably is it constructed, that an entire range of stables is built on the extreme verge of the terrace, on which the whole personal force of the Rana, elephants, horse, and foot, are often assembled. From this terrace the city and the valley lay before the spectator, whose vision is bounded only by the hills shutting out the plains; while from the summit of the palace nothing obstructs its range over lake and mountain.

A Band of Sindhies guarded the first entrance to the palace; and being Saturday, the Suktawats were on duty in the great hall of assembly. Through lines of Rajpoots we proceeded till we came to the marble staircase, the steps of which had taken the form of the segment of an ellipse, from the constant friction of the foot; an image of *Ganesa* guarded the ascent to the interior of the palace, and the apartment, or landing, is called *Ganesa deori*, from the Rajpoot *Janus*. After proceeding through a suite of saloons, each filled with spectators, the herald's voice announced to "the lord of the "world" that the English envoy was in his presence; on which he arose and advanced a few paces in front of the throne, the chieftains standing to receive the mission. Everything being ruled by precedent, the seat allotted for the envoy was immediately in front and touching the *royal cushion* (gadi): being that assigned to the Peshwa in the height of Mahratta prosperity, the arrangement, which was a subject of regular negotiation, could not be objected to. The apartment, chosen for the intiatory visit was the *Surya mahl* or "hall of the sun," so called from a medallion of the orb in basso relievo which decorates the wall. Close thereto is placed the Rana's throne, above which, supported by slender silver columns, rises a velvet canopy. The *Gadi*, or throne, in the East, is but a huge cushion, over which is thrown an embroidered velvet mantle. The chiefs of the higher grade, or "*the sixteen*," were seated, according to their rank, on the right and left of the Rana; next and below these were the princes Umra and Juvan Sing: and at right angles (by which the court formed three sides of a square), the chiefs of the second rank. The civil officers of the state were near the Rana in front, and the seneschal, butler, keeper of the wardrobe,

and other confidential officers and inferior chieftains, formed a group standing on the extreme edge of the carpet.

The Rana's congratulations were hearty and sincere: in a few powerful expressions he depicted the miseries he had experienced, the fallen condition of his state, and the gratitude he felt to the British Government which had interposed between him and destruction; and which for the first moment of his existence allowed him to sleep in peace. There was an intense earnestness in every word he uttered, which, delivered with great fluency of speech and dignity of manner, inspired deep respect and sympathy. The Agent said, that the Governor-General was no stranger to the history of his illustrious family, or to his own immediate sufferings; and that it was his earnest desire to promote, by every means in his power, the Rana's personal dignity and the prosperity of his dominions. After conversing a few minutes, the interview was closed with presents to the Agent and suite: to the former a caparisoned elephant and horse, jewelled aigrette, and pearl necklace, with shawls and brocades; and with the customary presentation of essence of rose and the pan leaf, the Rana and court rising, the envoy made his *saluam* and retired. In a short time the Rana, attended by his second son, ministers, and a select number of the chiefs, honoured the envoy with a visit. The latter advanced beyond his residence to meet the prince, who was received with presented arms by the guard, the officers saluting, and conducted to his throne, which had been previously arranged. Conversation was now unrestrained, and questions were demanded regarding everything which appeared unusual. After sitting half an hour, the Agent presented the Rana with an elephant and two horses, caparisoned with silver and gilt ornaments and velvet embroidered housings, with *twenty-one shields** of shawls, brocades, muslins, and jewels; to prince Umra, unable from sickness to attend his father, a horse and *eleven shields*; and to his brother, the second prince, Juvan Sing, a horse and *nine shields*; to the ministers and chiefs according to rank: the whole entertainment costing about 20,000 rupees, or £2,000. Amidst these ceremonials, receiving and returning visits of the Rana, his chiefs, his ministers, and men of influence and information commercial and agricultural, some weeks passed in silent observation, and in the acquisition of materials for action.†

* The buckler is the tray in which gifts are presented by the Rajpoots.

† If we dare compare the moral economy of an entire people to the physical economy of the individual, we should liken this period in the history of Mewar to intermittent pulsation of the heart—a pause in moral

For the better comprehension of the internal relations, past and present, of Mewar a sketch is presented, shewing the political divisions of the tribes and the fiscal domain, from which a better idea may be formed of Rajpoot feudal economy than from a chapter of dissertation. The princes of Mewar skilfully availed themselves of their natural advantages in the partition of the country. The mountain-barriers east and west were allotted to the chiefs to keep the mountaineers and foresters in subjection, whose leading passes were held by a *lord-marcher*, and the quotas of his quarter; and while strong forts guarded the exposed northern and southern entrances, the crown-land lay in the centre, the safest and the richest. The exterior, thus guarded by a cordon of feudal levies composed of the quotas of the greater fiefs; the minor and most numerous class of vassals, termed *gole*, literally "the mass," and consisting of ten thousand horse, each holding directly of the crown independent of the greater chiefs, formed its best security against both external aggression and internal commotions.

Such is a picture of the feudal economy of Mewar in the days of her renown; but so much had it been defaced through time and accident, that with difficulty could the lineaments be traced with a view to their restoration: her institutions a dead letter, the prince's authority despised, the nobles demoralized and rebellious, internal commerce abandoned, and the peasantry destroyed by the combined operation of war, pestilence, and

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as in physical existence; a consciousness thereof, inertly awaiting the propelling power to restore healthful action to a state of languid repose; or what the Rajpoot would better comprehend, his own condition when the opiate stimulant begins to dissipate, and mind and body are alike abandoned to helpless imbecility. Who has lived out of the circle of mere vegetation, and not experienced this temporary deprivation of moral vitality? for no other simile would suit the painful pause in the sympathies of the inhabitants of this once fertile region, where experience could point out but one page in their annals, one period in their history, when the clangour of the war trumpet was suspended, or the sword shut up in its scabbard. The portals of Janus at Rome were closed but twice in a period of seven hundred years; and in exactly the same time from the conquest by Shabudin to the great pacification, but twice can we record peace in Mewar—the reign of Numa has its type in Shah Jehan, while the more appropriate reign of Augustus belongs to Britain. Are we to wonder then that a chilling void now occupied (if the solicism is admissible) the place of interminable action? when the mind was released from the anxiety of daily, hourly, devising schemes of preservation, to one of perfect security—that enervating calm, in which, to use their own homely phrase, *Bher aur bakri iki thali sa pia*, 'the wolf and the goat drank from the same vessel.' But this unruffled torpidity had its limit: the Agrarian laws of Mewar were but mentioned, and the national pulse instantly rose.

exile. Expression might be racked for phrases which could adequately delineate the miseries all classes had endured. It is impossible to give more than a sketch of the state of the *dos sches Mewar*, 'the ten thousand townships' which once acknowledged her princes, and of which above three thousand still exist. All that remained to them was the valley of the capital; and though Cheetore and Mandelgurh were maintained by the fidelity of the Rana's servants, their precarious revenues scarcely sufficed to maintain their garrisons. The Rana was mainly indebted to Zalim Sing of Kotah for the means of subsistence; for in the struggle for existence his chiefs thought only of themselves, of defending their own estates, or buying off their foes; while those who had succumbed took to horse, scoured the country, and plundered without distinction. Inferior clanships declared themselves independent of their superiors, who in their turn usurped the crown domain, or by bribing the necessities of their prince, obtained his patents for lands, to which, as they yielded him nothing, he became indifferent. The crown-tenants purchased of these chiefs the protection (*rekwali*) which the Rana could not grant, and made alienations of the *crown taxes*, besides private rights of the community, which were often extorted at the point of the lance. Feuds multiplied, and the name of each clan became the watch-word of alarm or defiance to its neighbour: castles were assaulted, and their inmates, as at Seogurh and Lawah, put to the sword; the Meras and Bhils descended from their hills, or emerged from their forests, and planted ambuscades for the traveller or merchant, whom they robbed or carried to their retreats, where they languished in durance till ransomed. Marriage-processions were thus intercepted, and the honey-moon was passed on a cliff of the Aravali, or in the forests on the Myhie. The Rajpoot, whose moral energies were blunted, scrupled not to associate and to divide the spoil with these lawless tribes, of whom it might be said, as of the children of Ishmael, "their hands were against every man, and every man's hand against them." Yet notwithstanding such entire disorganization of society, external commerce was not stagnant; and in the midst of this rapine, the produce of Europe and Cashmere would pass each other in transit through Mewar, loaded it is true by a multiplicity of exactions, but guarded by those who scorned all law but the *point of honour*, which they were paid for preserving.

The capital will serve as a specimen of the country. Oodipur, which formerly reckoned fifty thousand houses within the walls, had not now three thousand occupied, the rest were in ruin, the rafters being taken for fire-wood. The realization

of the spring harvest of 1818, from the entire fiscal land, was about £4000! Grain sold for seven seers the rupee, though thrice the quantity was procurable within the distance of eighty miles. Insurance from the capital to Nathdwara (twenty-five miles) was eight per cent. The Kotario chief, whose ancestors are immortalized for fidelity, had not a horse to conduct him to his prince's presence, though his estates were of fifty thousand rupees annual value. All were in ruins; and the Rana, the descendant of those patriot Rajpoots who opposed Baber, Akbar, and Arungzebe, in the days of Mogul splendour, had not fifty horse to attend him, and was indebted for all the comforts he possessed to the liberality of Kotah.

Such was the chaos from which order was to be evoked. But the elements of prosperity, though scattered, were not extinct; and recollections of the past deeply engraved in the national mind, became available to re-animate thier moral and physical existence. To call these forth demanded only the exertion of moral interference, and every other was rejected. The lawless freebooter, and even the savage Bhil, felt awed at the agency of a power never seen. To him moral opinion (compared with which the strength of armies is nought) was inexplicable, and he substituted in its stead another invisible power—that of magic: and the belief was current throughout the intricate region of the West, that a single individual could carry an army in his pocket, and that our power could animate slips of paper cut into the figures of armed men, from which no precaution could guard their retreats. Accordingly at the mere name of the British power, rapine ceased, and the inhabitants of the wilds of the West, the "forest lords," who had hitherto laughed at subjection, to the number of seven hundred villages, put each the sign of the dagger to a treaty, promising abstinence from plunder and a return to industrious life—a single individual of no rank the negotiator. Moreover the treaty was religiously kept for twelve months; when the peace was broken not by them, but against them.

To the Rajpoot, the moral spectacle of a Peshwa marched into exile with all the quietude of a pilgrimage, effected more than twenty thousand bayonets, and no other auxiliary was required than the judicious use of the impressions from this and other passing events, to relay the foundations of order and prosperity—by never doubting the issue, success was insured. The British force, therefore, after the reduction of the plans enumerated, was marched to cantonments; the rest was left for time and reason to accomplish.

Before proceeding further, it may be convenient to sketch the form of civil government in Mewar, and the characters of its

most conspicuous members: the former we shall describe as it was when the machine was in regular action; it will be found simple, and perfectly suited to its object.

There are four grand officers of the government:—

1st. The Purdhan, or prime minister;
2d. Bukshee, commander of the forces;
3d. Soorutnama, keeper of the records;
4th. Suhaie, keeper of the signet.*

The first, the Purdhan, or civil premier, must be of the non-militant tribe. The whole of the territorial and financial arrangements are vested in him. He nominates the civil governors of districts, and the collectors of the revenue and custom; and has fourteen *thoas*, or departments, under him, which embrace all that relates to expenditure.

2d. The Bukshee, must also be of a nonmilitant tribe, and one different from the Purdhan. His duties are mixed civil and military. He takes the musters, and pays mercenaries or rations, to the feudal tenants when on extra-service, and he appoints, a deputy to accompany all expeditions, or to head frontier-posts, with the title of *foujdar*, or commander. The royal insignia, the standard, and kettle-drums accompany him, and the highest nobles assemble under the general control of of this civil officer, never under one of their own body. From the Bukshee's bureau all patents are issued, as also all letters of sequestration of feudal land.

The Bukshee has four secretaries:—

1st, Draws out deeds;
2d, Accountant;
3d, Recorder of all patents or grants;
4th, Keeps duplicates.

3d. The Soorutnama is the auditor and recorder of all the household expenditure and establishments, which are paid by his cheques. He has four assistants also, who make a daily report, and give a daily balance of accounts.

4th. The Suhaie. He is secretary both for home and foreign correspondence. He draws out the royal grants or patents of estates, and superintends the deeds of grant on copper-plate to religious establishments. Since the privilege appertaining to Saloombra, of confirming all royal grants with his signet *the lance*, has fallen into desuetude, the *Suhaie* executes this military autograph.†

* Or rather, who makes the monogrammatic signet "*Suhaie*" to all deeds, grants, &c.

† The Saloombra chief had his deputy, who resided at court for this sole duty, for which he held a village.

To all decrees, from the daily stipend to the *putta*, or patent of an estate, each minister must append his seal, so that there is a complete system of check. Besides these the higher officers of government, there are thirty-six *kurkhanas*, or inferior officers, appointed directly by the Rana, the most conspicuous of which are the justiciary,† the keepers of the register-office, of the mint, of the armory, of the regalia, of the jewels, of the wardrobe, of the statutes, of the kitchen, of the band, of the seneschalsy, and of the seraglio.

There was no want of aspirants to office, here hereditary; but it was vain to look amongst the descendants of the virtuous Pancholi, or the severe Umrachund, and the prediction of the former, "Dust will cover the head of Mewar when virtue wanders in rags," was strictly fulfilled. There appeared no talent, no influence, no honesty; yet the deficiency was calculated to excite sorrow rather than surprise; to stimulate exertion in their behalf, rather than damp the hope of improvement; though all scope for action, save in the field of intrigue, was lost, and talent was dormant for want of exercise.

The Rana's character was little calculated to supply his minister's deficiencies. Though perfectly versed in the past history of his country, its resources, and their management; though able, wise, and amiable, his talents were nullified by numerous weak points. Vain shows, frivolous amusements, and an ill-regulated liberality alone occupied him; and so long as he could gratify these propensities, he trusted complacently to the exertions of others for the restoration of order and his proper authority. He had little steadiness of purpose, and was particularly obnoxious to female influence. It is scarcely to be wondered that he coveted repose, and was little desirous to disturb the only moment his existence had presented of enjoying it, by inviting the turmoils of business. No man, however, was more capable of advising: his judgment was good, but he seldom followed its dictates; in short, he was an adept in theory, and a novice in practice. The only man about the court at once of integrity and efficiency was Kishendas, who had long acted as ambassador, and to whose assiduity the sovereign and the country owed much; but his services were soon cut off by death.

Such were the materials with which the work of reform commenced. The aim was to bring back matters to a correspondence with an era of their history, when the rights of

* Neeyao, Duftur, Taksala, Silleh, Gadi, Gyna, Kaprabindar, Ghora, Rusora, Nakar-khaneh, Julaib, Rawula.

the prince, the vassal, and the cultivator, were alike well defined—that of Umra Sing.

The first point to effect was the recognition of the prince's authority by his nobles; the surest sign of which was their presence at the capital, where some had never been, and others only when it suited their convenience or their views. In a few weeks the Rana saw himself surrounded by a court such as had not been known for half a century. It created no small curiosity to learn by what secret power they were brought into each other's presence. Even the lawless Hamira, who but a short while before had plundered the marriage dower of the Hari queen coming from Kotah, and the chief of the Sungawut clan, who had sworn "he might bend his head to woman, but never to his sovereign," left their castles of Bhadaiser and Deogurh, and "placing the royal rescript on their heads," hastened to his presence; and in a few weeks the whole feudal association of Mewar was embodied in the capital.

To recall the exiled population was a measure simultaneous with the assembling of the nobles; but this was a work requiring time: they had formed ties, and incurred obligations to the societies which had sheltered them, which could not at once be disengaged or annulled. But wherever a subject of Mewar existed, proclamations penetrated, and satisfactory assurances were obtained, and realized to an extent which belied in the strongest manner the assertion that patriotism is unknown to the natives of Hindusthan. The most enthusiastic and cheering proofs were afforded, that neither oppression from without, nor tyranny within, could expel the feeling for the '*bapota*,' the land of their fathers. Even now, though time has chastened the impressions, we should fear to pen but a tythe of the proofs of devotion of the husbandman of Mewar to the *solum natale*: it would be deemed romance by those who never contemplated humanity in its reflux from misery and despair to the 'sweet influences' of hope; he alone who had witnessed the day of trouble, and beheld the progress of desolation—the standing corn grazed by Mahratta horse—the rifled towns devoted to the flames—the cattle driven to the camp, and the chief men seized as hostages for money never to be realized—could appreciate their deliverance. To be permitted to see these evils banished, to behold the survivors of oppression congregated from the most distant provinces, many of them strangers to each other, and the aged and the helpless awaiting the *lucky day* to take possession of their ruined abodes, was a sight which memory will not part with. Thus on the 3d of Swaun (*July*) a favourite day

with the husbandman, three hundred of all conditions, with their waggons and implements of labour, and preceded by banners and music, marched into Kupasun ; and *Ganesa* was once again invoked as they reconsecrated their dwellings, and placed his portrait as the Janus of their portals. On the same day, and within eight months subsequent to the signature of the treaty, above three hundred towns and villages were *simultaneously* re-inhabited ; and the land, which for many years had been a stranger to the plough-share, was broken up. Well might the superstitious fancy that miracles were abroad ; for even to those who beheld the work in progression it had a magical result, to see the waste covered with habitations, and the verdant corn growing in the fields where lately they had roused the boar from his retreat ! It was a day of pride for Britain ! By such exertions of her power in these distant lands her sway is hallowed. By Britain alone can this fair picture be defaced ; the tranquillity and independence she has conferred, by her alone may be disturbed !

To these important preliminary measures, the assembly of the nobles and recall of the population, was aidded a third, without which the former would have been nugatory. There was no wealth, no capital, to aid their patriotism and industry. Foreign merchants and bankers had abandoned the devoted land ; and those who belonged to it partook of her poverty and her shame. Money was scarce, and want of faith and credit had increased the usury on loans to a ruinous exent. The Rana borrowed at thirty-six per cent ; besides twenty-five to forty *per cent.* discount for his *barats*, or patents empowering collection on the land ; a system pursued for some time even after his restoration to authority. His profusion exceeded even the rapidity of renovation ; and the husbandman had scarcely broken up his long-waste fields, when a call was made by the harpies of the state for an advance on their produce, while he himself had been compelled to borrow at a like ruinous rate for seed and the means of support, to be paid by expectations. To have hoped for the revival of prosperity amidst such destitution, moral and pecuniary, would have been visionary. It was as necessary to improve the one, as to find the other : for poverty and virtue do not long associate, and certainly not in Mewar. Proclamations were therefore prepared by the Rana, inviting foreign merchants and bankers to establish connections in the chief towns throughout the country ; but as in the days of demoralization little faith was placed in the words of princes, similar ones were prepared by the Agent, guaranteeing the stipulations, and both were distributed to every commercial city in India. The result was as had been foreseen :

branch-banks were every where formed, and mercantile agents fixed in every town in the country, whose operations were only limited by the slow growth of moral improvement. The shackles which bound external commerce were at once removed, and the multifarious posts for the collections of transit duties abolished; in lieu of which chain of stations, all levies on goods in transit were confined to the frontiers. The scale of duties was revised; and by the abolition of intermediate posts, they underwent a reduction of from thirty to fifty per cent. By this system, which could not for some time be comprehended, the transit and custom duties of Mewar made the most certain part of the revenue, and in a few years exceeded in amount what had ever been known.

The chief commercial mart, Bhilwara, which shewed not a vestige of humanity, rapidly rose from ruin, and in a few months contained twelve hundred houses, half of which were occupied by foreign merchants. Bales of goods, the produce of the most distant lands, were piled up in the streets lately overgrown with grass, and a weekly fair was established for the home-manufactures. A charter of privileges and immunities was issued, exempting them from all taxation for the first year, and graduating the scale for the future; calculated with the same regard to improvement, by giving the mind the full range of enjoying the reward of its exertions. The right of electing their own chief magistrates and the assessors of justice, was above all things indispensable, so as to render them as independent as possible of the needy servants of the court. A guard was provided by the government for their protection, and a competent authority nominated to see that the full extent of their privileges, and the utmost freedom of action, were religiously maintained. The entire success of this plan may at once be recorded to prevent repetition. In 1822, Bhilwara contained nearly three thousand dwellings, which were chiefly inhabited by merchants, bankers, or artizans. An entire new street had been constructed in the centre of the town, from the duties levied, and the shops and houses were rented at a moderate rate; while many were given up to the proprietors of their sites, returning from exile, on their paying the price of construction. But as there is no happiness without alloy, so even this pleasing picture had its dark shades, to chasten the too sanguine expectation of imparting happiness to all. Instead of a generous emulation, a jealous competition checked the prosperity of Bhilwara; the base spirit of exclusive monopoly desired a distinction between the native and the stranger-merchant, for which they had a precedent in the latter paying an addition to the town-

duty of metage *(mapa)*. The unreasonableness of this was discussed, and it was shewn to be more consonant to justice that he who came from Jessulmeer, Surat, Benares, or Delhi, should pay less than the merchant whose domicile was on the spot. When at length the parties acquiesced in this opinion, and were intreated and promised to know none other distinction than that of "inhabitant of Bhilwara," sectarian differences, which there was less hope of reconciling, became the cause of disunion. All the Hindu merchants belong either to the Vishnu or Jain sects; consequently each had a representative head, and "*the five*" for the adjudication of their internal arrangements; and these, the wise men of both parties, formed the general council for the affairs of Bhilwara. But they carried their religious differences to the judgment-seat, where each desired pre-eminence. Whether the point in dispute hinged on the interpretation of law, which with all these sects is of divine origin, or whether the mammon of unrighteousness was the lurking cause of their bickerings, they assuredly did much harm, for their appeals brought into play what of all things was least desired, the intrigues of the profligate dependants of the court. It will be seen hereafter,* in visits to Bhilwara, how these disputes were in some degree calmed. The leaders on both sides were distinctly given to understand they would be made to leave the place. Self-interest prevented this extremity; but from the withdrawing of that active interference (which the state of the alliance did not indeed warrant, but which humanity interposed for their benefit) together with the effect of appeals to the court, is to be apprehend that Bhilwara may fail to become what it was intended to be, the chief commercial mart of Central India.†

Of the three measures simultaneously projected and pursued for the restoration of prosperity, the industrious portion has been described. The feudal interest remains, which was found the most difficult to arrange. The agricultural and commercial classes required only protection and stimulus, and we could repay the benefits their industry conferred by the lowest scale of taxation, which though in fact equally beneficial to the govern-

* In the Personal Narrative.

† Although Bhilwara has not attained that high prosperity my enthusiasm anticipated, yet the philanthropic Heber records that in 1825 (three years after I had left the country) it exhibited "a greater appearance of trade, industry, and moderate but widely diffused wealth and comfort, than he had witnessed since he left Delhi." The record of the sentiments of the inhabitants towards me, as conveyed by the bishop, was gratifying, though their expression could excite no surprise in any one acquainted with the characters and sensibilities of these people.

ment, was construed as a boon. But with the feudal lords there was no such equivalent to offer in return for the sacrifices many had to make for the re-establishment of society. Those who were well inclined, like Kotario, had every thing to gain, and nothing left to surrender; while those who, like Deogurh, Saloombra, or Bednore, had preserved their power by foreign aid, intrigue, or prowess, dreaded the high price they might be called upon to pay for the benefit of security which the new alliance, conferred. All dread the word 'restitution,' and the audit of half a century's political accounts; yet the adjustment of these was the corner-stone of the edifice, which anarchy and oppression, had dismantled. Feuds were to be appeased, a difficult and hazardous task; and usurpations, both on the crown and each other, to be redeemed. "To bring the wolf and goat to drink from the same vessel," was a task of less difficulty than to make the Chondawat and Suktawut labour in concert for the welfare of the prince and the country. [illegible] idea cannot be afforded of what was deemed the hopelessness of success than the opinion of Zoorawut Sing, the chief of the latter clan, who had much to relinquish: "Were *Purmeswara* (the Almighty) to descend, he could not reform Mewar." We judged better of them than they did of each other.

It were superfluous to detail all the preparatory measures for the accomplishment of this grand object; the meetings and adjournments, which only served to keep alive discontent. On the 27th of April, the treaty with the British government was read, and the consequent change in their relations explained. Meanwhile, a charter, defining the respective rights of the crown and of the chiefs, with their duties to the community, was prepared, and a day named for a general assembly of the chieftains to sanction and ratify this engagement. The 1st of May was fixed: the chiefs assembled; the articles, ten in number, were read and warmly discussed; when with unmeaning expressions of duty, and objections to the least prominent, they obtained through their speaker, Goculdas of Deogurh, permission to re-assemble at his house to consider them, and broke up with the promise to attend next day. The delay, as apprehended, only generated opposition, and the 2d and 3d passed in intercommunications of individual hope and fear. It was important to put an end to speculation. At noon, on the 4th of May, the grand hall was again filled, when the Rana, with his sons and ministers, took their seats. Once more the articles were read, objections raised and combatted, and midnight had arrived without the object of the meeting being advanced, when an adjournment, proposed by Goculdas, till the arrival of the Rana's plenipotentiary

from Delhi, met with a firm denial; and the Rana gave him liberty to retire, if he refused his testimony of loyalty. The Beygoo chief, who had much to gain, at length set the example, followed by the chiefs of Amait and Deogurh, and in succession by all the sixteen nobles, who also signed as the proxies of their relatives, unable from sickness to attend. The most powerful of the second grade also signed for themselves and the absent of their clans, each, as he gave in his adhesion, retiring; and it was three in the morning of the 5th of May ere the ceremony was over. The chief of the Suktawuts, determined to be conspicuous was the last of his own class to sign. During this lengthened and painful discussion of fifteen hours' continuance, the Rana conducted himself with such judgment and firmness, as to give sanguine hopes of his taking the lead in the settlement of his affairs.

This preliminary adjusted, it was important that the stipulations of the treaty * should be rigidly, if not rapidly effected. It will not be a matter of surprise, that some months passed away before the complicated arrangements arising out of this settlement were completed; but it may afford just grounds for gratulation, that they were finally accomplished without a shot being fired, or the exhibition of a single British soldier in the country, nor, indeed, within one hundred miles of Oodipur. "Opinion" was the sole and all-sufficient ally effecting this political reform. The Rajpoots, in fact, did not require the demonstration of our physical strength; its influence had reached far beyond Mewar. When a few firelocks defeated hundreds of the foes of public tranquility, they attributed it to "*the strength of the Company's salt*," † the

* A literal translation of this curious piece of Hindu legislation will be found on a former page. If not drawn up with all the dignity of the legal enactments of the great governments of the West, it has an important advantage in conciseness; the articles cannot be misinterpreted, and require no lawyer to expound them.

† "*Compani Saheb ca nimuk ca zoor sa*" is a common phrase of our native soldiery; and "*Dowahi! Compani ca!*" is an invocation or appeal against injustice; but I never heard this watch-ward so powerfully applied as when a *Sub.* with the Resedent's escort in 1812. One of our men, a noble young Rajpoot about nineteen years of age, and six feet high, had been sent with an elephant to forage in the wilds of Nirwur. A band of at least fifty predatory horsemen assailed him, and demanded the surrender of the elephant, which he made by pointing his musket and giving them defiance. Beset on all sides, he fired, was cut down, and left for dead, in which state he was found, and brought to camp upon a litter. One sabre-cut had opened the back entirely across, exposing the action of the viscera, and his arms and wrists were barbarously hacked: yet he was firm, collected, and even cheerful; and to a kind reproach for his rashness, he said, "what would you have said, Captain Saheb, had I surrendered the Company's musket (*compani ca bandooq*) without

moral agency of which was proclaimed the true basis of our power. "*Sachha Raj*," was the proud ephithet applied by our new allies to the British government in the East; a title which distinguished the immortal Alfred, "the upright."

It will readily be imagined that a reform, which went to touch the entire feudal association, could not be accomplished without harassing and painful discussions, when the object was the renunciation of lands, to which in some cases the right of inheritance could be pleaded, in others, in cognizance of successful revenge, while to many prescriptive possession could be asserted. It was the more painful, because althongh the shades which marked the acquisition of such lands were varied, no distinction could be made in the mode of settlement, *viz.* unconditional surrender. In some cases, the Rana had to revoke his own grants, wrung either from his necessities or his weakness; but in neither predicament could arguments be adduced to soften renunciation, or to meet the powerful and pathetic, and often angry appeals to justice. Counter-appeals to their loyalty, and the necessity for the re-establishment of their sovereign's just weight and influence in the social body, without which their own welfare could not be secured, were adduced; but individual views and passions were too absorbing to bend to the general interest. Weeks thus passed in interchange of visits, in soothing pride, and in flattering vanity by the revival of past recollections, which gradually familiarized the subject to the minds of the chiefs, and brought them to compliance. Time, conciliation, and impartial justice, confirmed the victory thus obtained; and when they were made to see that no interest was overlooked, that party views were unknown, and that the system included every class of society in its benefieial operation, cordiality followed concession. Some of these cessions were alienations from the crown of half a century's duration. Individual cases of hardship were unavoidable without incurring the imputation of favoritism, and the dread revival of ancient feuds, to abolish which was indispensable, but required much circumspection. Castles and lands in this predicament could therefore neither be retained by the possessor nor returned to the ancient proprietor without rekindling the torch of civil war. The sole alternative was for the crown to take the

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fighting?" From their temperate habits, the wound in the back did well; but the severed nerves of the wrists brought on a lock-jaw of which he died. The Company have thousands who would aiike die for their *bandooq*. It were wise to cherish such feelings.

object of contention, and make compensation from its own domain. It would be alike tedious and uninteresting to enter into the details of these arrangements, where one chief had to relinquish the levy of transit duties in the most important outlet of the country, asserted to have been held during seven generations, as in the case of the chief of Deogurh. Of another (the Bheendir chief) who held *forty-three towns and villages*, in addition to his grant; of Amait, of Bhadaiser, of Dabla, of Lawah, and many others who held important fortresses of the crown independent of its will; and other claims, embracing every right and privilege appertaining to feudal society; suffice it, that in six months the whole arrangements were effected.

In the painful and protracted discussions attendant on these arrangements, powerful traits of national character were developed. The castle and domain of Arjah, half a century ago, belonged to the crown, but had been usurped by the Poorawuts, from whom it was wrested by storm about fifteen years back by the Suktawuts, and a patent sanctioning possession was obtained, on the payment of a fine of £1,000 to the Rana. Its surrender was now required from Futteh Sing, the second brother of Bheendir, the head of this clan; but being regarded as the victorious completion of a feud, it was not easy to silence their prejudices and objections. The renunciation of the forty-three towns and villages by the chief of the clan caused not half the excitation, and every Suktawut seemed to forego his individual losses in the common sentiment expressed by their head: "Arjah is the price of blood, "and with its cession our honour is surrendered." To preserve the point of honour, it was stipulated that it should not revert to the Poorawuts, but be incorporated with the fisc, which granted an equivalent, when letters of surrender were signed by both brothers, whose conduct throughout was manly and confiding.

The Bednore and Amait chiefs, both of the superior grade of nobles, were the most formidable obstacles to the operation of the treaty of the 4th of May. The first of these by name Jeyt Sing *(the victorious lion)*, was of the Martea clan, the bravest of the brave race of Rahtore, whose ancestors had left their native abodes on the plains of Marwar, and accompanied the celebrated Meera Bhae on her marriage with Rana Koombho. His descendants, amongst whom was Jeimul, of immortal memory, enjoyed honours in Mewar equal to their birth and high deserts. It was the more difficult to treat with men like these, whose conduct had been a contrast to the general license of the times, and who had reason to

feel offended, when no distinction was observed between them and those who had disgraced the name of Rajpoot. Instead of the submission expected from the Rahtore, so overwhelmed was he from the magnitude of the claims, which amounted to a virtual extinction of his power, that he begged leave to resign his estates and quit the country. In prosecution of this design, he took post in the chief hall of the palace, from which no intreaties could make him move; until the Rana, to escape his importunities, and even restraint, obtained his promise to abide by the decision of the Agent. The forms of the Rana's court, from time immemorial, prohibit all personal communication between the sovereign and his chiefs in matters of individual interest, by which indecorous altercation is avoided. But the ministers, whose office it was to obtain every information, did not make a rigid scrutiny into the title-deeds of the various estates previous to advancing the claims of the crown. This brave man had enemies, and he was too proud to have recourse to the common arts either of adulation or bribery to aid his cause. It was a satisfaction to find that the two principal towns demanded of him were embodied in a grant of Singram Sing's reign; and the absolute rights of the fisc, of which he had become possessed, were cut down to about fifteen thousand rupees of annual revenue. But there were other points on which he was even more tenacious than the surrender of these. Being the chief noble of the fine district of Bednore, which consisted of three hundred and sixty towns and villages, chiefly of feudal allotments (many of them of his own clan); he had taken advantage of the times to establish his influence over them, to assume the right of wardship of minors, and secure those services which were due to the prince, but which he wanted the power to enforce. The holders of these estates were of the third class of vassals or *gole* (the mass), whose services it was important to reclaim, and who constituted in past times the most efficient force of the Ranas, and were the preponderating balance of their authority when mercenaries were unknown in these patriarchal states. Abundant means towards a just investigation had been previously procured; and after some discussion, in which all admissible claims were recognized, and argument was silenced by incontrovertible facts, this chieftain relinquished all that was demanded, and sent in, as from himself, his written renunciation to his sovereign. However convincing the data by which his proper rights and those of his prince were defined, it was to feeling and prejudice that we were mainly indebted for so satisfactory an adjustment. An appeal to the name of Jeimul, who fell defending Cheetore

against Akbar, and the contrast of his ancestor's loyalty and devotion with his own contumacy, acted as a tailsman, and wrung tears from his eyes and the deed from his hand. It will afford some idea of the difficulties encountered, as well as the individiousness of the task of arbitrating such matters, to give his own comment verbatim: "I remained faithful when his own kin deserted him, and was one of four chiefs who alone of all Mewar fought for him in the rebellion; but the son of Jeimul is forgotten, while the '*plunderer*' is his boon companion, and though of inferior rank, receives an estate which elevates him above me;" alluding to the chief of Bhadaiser, who plundered the queen's dower. But while the brave descendant of Jeimul returned to Bednore with the marks of his sovereign's favour, and the applause of those he esteemed, the '*runner*' went back to Bhadaiser in disgrace, to which his prince's injudicious favour further contributed.

Hamira of Bhadaiser was of the second class of nobles, a Chondawut by birth. He succeeded to his father Sirdar Sing, the assassin of the prime minister even in the palace, of his sovereign;* into whose presence he had the audacity to pursue the surviving brother, destined to avenge him. Hamira inherited all the turbulence and disaffection, with the estates, of his father; and this most conspicuous of the many lawless chieftains of the times was known throughout Rajasthan as Hamira '*the runner*' *(douruet)*. Though not entitled to hold lands beyond thirty thousand annually, he had become possessed to the amount of eighty thousand, chiefly of the fisc or *khalisa*, and nearly all obtained by violence, though since confirmed by the prince's patent. With the chieftain of Lawah (precisely in the same predicament), who held the fortress of Khyroda and other valuable lands, Hamira resided entirely at the palace, and obtaining the Rana's ear by pro-

* It will fill up the picture of the times to relate the revenge. When Jamshid, the infamous lieutenant of the infamous Meer Khan, established his head-quarters at Oodipur, which he daily devastated, Sirdar Sing, then in power, was seized and confined as a hostage for the payment of thirty thousand rupees demanded of the Rana. The surviving brothers of the murdered minister Somji "*purchased their foe*" with the sum demanded, and anticipated his clansmen, who were on the point of effecting his liberation. The same sun shone on the head of Sirdar, which was placed as a signal of revenge over the gate way of Rampeari's palace. I had the anecdotes from the minister Scaloll, one of the actors in these tragedies, and a relative of the brothers, who were all swept away by the dagger. A similar fate often seemed to him, though a brave man, inevitable during these resumptions; which impression, added to the Rana's known inconstancy of favour, robbed him of half his energies.

fessions of obedience, kept possession, while chiefs in every respect his superiors had been compelled to surrender; and, when at length the Suktawut of Lawah was forbid the court until Khyroda and all his usurpations were yielded up, the son of Sirdar displayed his usual turbulence, "curled his moustache" at the minister, and hinted at the fate of his predecessor. Although none dared to imitate him, his stubbornness was not without admirers, especially among his own clan; and as it was too evident that fear or favour swayed the Rana, it was a case for the Agent's interference, the opportunity for which was soon afforded. When forced to give letters of surrender, the Rana's functionaries, who went to take possession, were insulted, refused admittance, and compelled to return. Not a moment could be lost in punishing this contempt of authority; and as the Rana was holding a court when the report arrived, the Agent requested an audience. He found the Rana and his chiefs assembled in "the balcony of the sun," and amongst them the notorious Hamira. After the usual compliments, the Agent asked the minister if his master had been put in possession of Sianoh. It was evident from the general constraint, that all were acquainted with the result of the deputation; but to remove responsibility from the minister, the Agent, addressing the Rana as if he were in ignorance of the insult, related the transaction, and observed that his government would hold him culpable if he remained at Oodipur while his highness's commands were disregarded. Thus supported, the Rana resumed his dignity, and in forcible language signified to all present his anxious desire to do nothing which was harsh or ungracious; but that, thus compelled, he would not recede from what became him as their sovereign. Calling for a *beera*, he looked strernly at Hamira, and commanded him to quit his presence instantly, and the capital in an hour; and, but for the Agent's interposition, he would have been banished the country. Confiscation of his whole estate was commanded, until renunciation was completed. He departed that night; and, contrary to expectation, not only were all the usurpations surrendered, but, what was scarcely contemplated by the Agent, the Rana's flag of sequestration was quietly admitted into the fortress of Bhadaiser.*

* Nearly twelve months after this, my public duty called me to Neembahaira *enroute* to Kotah. The castle of Hamira was within an hour's ride, and at night he was reported as having arrived to visit me, when I appointed the next day to receive him. Early next morning, according to custom, I took my ride, with four of Skinner's horse, and gailoped pas-

One more anecdote may suffice. The lands and fortress of Amlee had been in the family of Amait since the year 27, only five years posterior to the date to which these arrangements extended; their possession verged on half a century. The lords of Amait were of the sixteen, and were chiefs of the clan Jugawut. The present representative enjoyed a fair character: he could, with the chief of Bednore, claim the succession of the loyal; for Pertap and Jeimul, their respective ancestors, were rivals and martyrs on that memorable day when the genius of Cheetore abandoned the Seesodias. But the heir of Amait had not this alone to support his claims; for his predecessor Pertap had lost his life in defending his country against the Mahrattas, and Amlee had been his acquisition. Futteh Sing (such was his name) was put forward by the more artful of his immediate kin, the Chondawut interest; but his disposition, blunt and impetuous, was little calculated to promote their views: he was an honest Rajpoot, who neither could nor cared to conceal his anger, and at a ceremonious visit paid him by the Agent, he had hardly sufficient control over himself to be courteous, and though he said nothing, his eyes, inflamed with opium and disdain, spoke his feelings. He maintained a dogged indifference, and was inaccessible to argument, till at length, following the example of Bednore, he was induced to abide by the Agent's mediation. He came attended by his vassals, who anxiously awaited the result, which an unpremeditaed incident facilitated. After a long and fruitless expostulation, he had taken refuge in an obstinate silence; and seated in a chair opposite to the envoy, with his shield in front, placed perpendiculary on his knees, and his arms and head reclined thereon, he continued vacantly looking on the ground. To interrupt this uncourteous silence in his own house, the envoy took a picture, which with several others was at hand, and placing it before him, remarked, "*that* chief did not gain his reputation for *swamidherma** (loyalty) by conduct such "as yours." His eyes suddenly recovered their animation and his countenance was lighted with a smile, as he rapidly uttered, "how did you come by this—why does this interest you?" A tear started in his eye as he added, "this is may father!"—"Yes," said the Agent, "it is the loyal Pertap on the day he went forth to meet his death; but his name yet lives, and a stranger does homage to

him, stretched with his followers on the ground not far from my camp, towards his fort. He came to me after breakfast, called me his greatest friend, "swore by his dagger he was my "Rajpoot," and that he would be in future obedient and loyal; but this, I fear, can never be.

* Literally faith (*dherma*) to his lord (*swama*).

his fame."—"Take Amlee, take Amlee," he hurriedly repeated, with a suppressed tone of exultation and sorrow, "but forget not the extent of the sacrifice." To prolong the visit would have been painful to both, but as it might have been trusting too much to humanity to delay the resumption, the Agent availed himself of the moment to indite the *choorchitti** of surrender for the lands.

With these instances, characteristic of individuals and the times, this sketch of the introductory measures for improving the condition of Mewar may be closed. To enter more largely in detail is foreign to the purpose of the work; nor is it requisite for the comprehension of the unity of the object, that a more minute dissection of the parts should be afforded. Before however, we exhibit the general results of these arrangements, we shall revert to the condition of the more humble, but a most important part of the community, the peasantry of Mewar; and embody, in a few remarks, the fruits of observation or inquiry, as to their past and present state, their rights, the establishment of them, their infringement, and restitution. On this subject much has been necessarily introduced in the sketch of the feudal system, where landed tenures were discussed; but it is one on which such a contrariety of opinion exists, that it may be desirable to show the exact state of landed tenures in a country, where Hindu manners should exist in greater purity than in any other part of the vast continent of India.

The ryot (*cultivator*) is the prorietor of the soil in Mewar. He compares his right therein to the *akhye dhooba*,† which no vicissitudes can destroy. He calls the land his *bapota*, the most emphatic, the most ancient, the most cherished, and the most significant phrase his language commands for *patrimonial*‡ *inheritance*. He has nature and Menu in support of his claim, can quote the text, alike compulsory on prince and peasant, "*Cultivated* land is the propety of "him who cut away the wood, or *who cleared and tilled it*:"§ an ordinance binding on the

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* Paper of relinquishment.

† The *dhooba* grass flourishes in all seasons, and most in the intense heats; it is not only *amara* or 'immortal,' but *akhye*, 'not to be eradicated and its tenacity to the soil deserves the distinction.

‡ From *bap* 'father,' and the termination *of*, or *belonging to*, and by which clans are distinguished; as *Kurrunsote*, 'descended of Kurrum;' *Mansingote*, 'descended of Mansing.' It is curious enough that the mountain clans of Albania, and other Greeks, have the same distinguishing termination, and the Mainote of Greece and the Mairote of Rajpootana alike signify *mountaineer*, or, 'of the mountain,' *maina* in Albanian; *maira* or *mera* in Sanscrit.

§ Text 44. On the 'Servile Classes,' Menu; Haughton's edition.

whole Hindu race, and which no international wars, or conquest, could overturn. In accordance with this principle is the ancient adage, not of Mewar only but all Rajpootana, *Bhoj ra dhanni Raj ho : bhom ra dhanni ma cho*: 'the government is owner of the rent, but I am the master of the land.' With the toleration and benevolence of the race the conqueror is commanded "to respect the deities adored by the conquered, also their virtuous priests, and *establish the laws of the conquered nation as declared in their books*"* If it were deemed desirable to recede to the system of pure Hindu agrarain law, there is no deficiency of materials. The customary laws contained in the various reports of able men, superadded to the general ordinances of Menu, would form a code at once simple and efficient : for though innovation from foreign conquest has placed many principles in abeyance, and modified others, yet he has observed to little purpose who does not trace a uniformity of design, which at one time had ramified wherever the name of of Hindu prevailed : language has been modified, and terms have been corrupted or changed, but the primary pervading principle is yet perceptible ; and whether we examine the systems of Candeish, the Carnatic, or Rajasthan, we shall discover the elements to be the same.

If we consider the system from the period described by Arrian, Curtius, and Diodorous, we shall see in the government of townships each commune an '*imperium in imperio*;' a little republic, maintaining its municipal legislation independent of the monarchy, on which it relies for general support, and to which it pays the *bhog*, or *tax in kind*, as the price of this proteetion ; for though the prescribed duties of kings are as well defined by Manu† as by any jurisconsult in Europe, nothing can be more lax than the mutual relations of the governed and governing in Hindu monarchies, which are resolved into unbounded liberty of action. To the artificial regulation of society, which leaves all who depend on manual exertion to an immutable degradation, must be ascribed these multitudinous governments, unknown to the rest of mankind, which, in spite of such dislocation, maintain the

* On Government, text 201—3.

† "Let the king receive his annual revenue through his collectors ; but let him observe the divine ordinances, and *act as a father* to his people." Text 80.—*To protect the people*, and to honour the priests, are the "highest duties of king's, and ensures them felicity." 88—"*From the people* he must learn the theory of agriculture, commerce, and practical arts." 43.—To those who imagine that these ancient monarchies as simply despotic, instead of patriarchal, their divine legislator expressly declares, that "a king addicted to vices (which tend to misrule) may lose even his life *from the public resentment*." 46.—"*The Duties of Kings.*

bonds of mutual sympathies. Strictly speaking, every state presents the picture of so many hundred or thousand minute republics, without any connection with each other, giving allegiance (*an*) and rent (*bhog*) to a prince, who neither legislates for them, nor even forms a police for their internal protection. It is consequent on this want of paramount interference that, in matters of police, of justice, and of law, the communes act for themselves; and from this want of paternal interference only, have arisen those courts of equity, or arbitration, the '*punchaets*.'

But to return to the *freehold* ryot of Mewar, whose *bapota* is the *wuttun* and the *meeras* of the peninsula,—words of foreign growth, introduced by the Mahomedan conquerors; the first (Persian) is of more general use in Candeish; the other (Arabic) in the Carnatic. Thus the great Persian moralist, Sadi, exemplifies its application: "If you desire to succeed to your father's inheritance (*meeras*), first obtain his wisdom."

While the term *bapota* thus implies the inheritance or patrimony, its holder, if a military vassal, is called 'Bhomia,' a term equally powerful, meaning one actually identified with the soil (*bhom*), and for which the Mahomedan has no equivalent but in the possessive compound *wuttun-dar*, or *meerasdar*. The *Caniatchi** of Malabar is the *Bhomia* of Rajasthan.

The emperors of Delhi, in the zenith of their power, bestowed the epithet 'zemindar' upon the Hindu tributary sovereigns: not out of disrespect, but in the true application of their own term '*Bhomia Raj*,' expressive of their tenacity to the soil; and this fact affords additional evidence of the proprietary right being in the cultivator (*ryot*) namely, that he alone can confer the freehold *land*, which gives the title of *Bhomia*, and of which both past history and present usage will furnish us with examples. When the tenure of land obtained from the cultivator is held more valid than the grant of the sovereign, it will be deemed a conclusive argument of the proprietary right being vested in the ryot. What should induce a chieftain, when inducted into a perpetual fief, to establish through the ryot a right *to a few acres in bhom*, but the knowledge, that although the vicissitudes of fortune or of favour may deprive him of his aggregate signiorial rights, his claims, derived from the spontaneous favour of the commune, can never be set aside; and when he ceases

* *Cani* 'land,' and *atchi* 'heritage': Report, p. 289.—I should be inclined to imagine the *atchi*, like the *ote* and *awut*, Rajpoot termination, implying clanship.

to be the lord, he becomes a member of the common-wealth, merging his title of Thacoor, or Signior, into the more humble one of Bhomia, the allodial tenant of the Rajpoot feudal system, elsewhere discussed. Thus, we have touched on the method by which he acquires this distinction, for protecting the community from violence; and if left destitute by the negligence or inability of the government, he is vested with the rights of the crown in its share of the *bhog* or rent. But when their own land is in the predicament called '*gulthas*,' or reversions from lapses to the commune, he is '*seised*' in all the rights of the former proprietor; or, by internal arrangements, they can convey such right by cession of the commune.

The privilege attached to the *bhom*, and acquired from the community by the protection afforded to it, is the most powerful argument for the recognition of its original rights. The Bhomia, thus vested, may at pleasure drive his own plough, right to the soil. His *bhom* is exempt from *jureeb* (measuring rod); it is never assessed, and his only sign of allegiance is a quit-rent, in most cases triennial, and the tax of *khur-lakur*,* a war imposition, now commuted for money. The state, however, indirectly receives the services of these allodial tenants, the yeomen of Rajasthan, who constitute, as in the districts of Komulmeer and Mandelgurh, the *landwehr*, or local militia. In fact, since the days of universal repose set in, and the townships required no protection, an arrangement was made with the Bhomias of Mewar, in which the crown, foregoing its claim of quit-rent, has obtained their services in the garrisons and frontier stations of police, at a very slight pecuniary sacrifice.

Such are the rights and privileges derived from the ryot cultivator alone. The Rana may dispossess the chiefs of Bednore, or Saloombra, of their estates, the grant of the crown; he could not touch the rights emanating from the community; and thus the descendants of a chieftain, who a few years before might have followed his sovereign at the head of one hundred cavaliers, would descend into the humble foot militia of a district. Thousands are in this predicament: the Kanawuts, Loonawuts, Koombhawuts, and other clans, who, like the Celt, forget not their claims of birth in the distinctions of fortune, but assert their propinquity as "brothers in the nineteenth or thirtieth degree to the prince" on the throne. So sacred was the tenure derived from the ryot, that even monarchs held lands in *bhom* from their

* See Sketch of Feudal System.

subjects, for an instance of which we are indebted to the great poetic historian of the last Hindu king. Chund relates, that when his sovereign, the Chohan, had subjugated the kingdom of Anhulwarra* from the Solanki, he returned to the nephew of the conquered prince several districts and sea-ports, and *all the bhom held by the family.* In short, the Rajpoot vaunts his aristocratic distinction derived from the land; and opposes the title of '*Bhomia Raj*,' or government of the soil, to the '*Bania Raj*,' or commercial government, which he affixes as an epithet of contempt to Jeypur: where "wealth accumulates and men decay."

In the great "register of patents" *(putta buhye)* of Mewar, we find a species of *bhom* held by the greater vassals on particular crown lands; whether this originated from inability of ceding entire townships to complete the estate to the rank of the incumbent, or whether it was merely in confirmation of the grant of the commune, could not be ascertained. The benefit from this *bhom* is only pecuniary, and the title 'bhom rekwali,'† or *land* [in return for] '*preservation.*' Strange to say, the crown itself holds '*bhom rekwali*' on its own fiscal demesnes, consisting of small portions in each village, to the amount of ten thousand rupees in a district of thirty or forty townships. This species, however, is so incongruous, that we can only state it does exist: we should vainly seek the cause for such apparent absurdity, for since society has been unhinged, the oracles are mute to much of antiquated custom.

We shall close these remarks with some illustrative traditions and yet existing customs, to substantiate the ryot's right in the soil of Mewar. After one of those convulsions described in the annals, the prince had gone to espouse the daughter of the Raja of Mundore, the (then) capital of Marwar. It is customary at the moment of "*hatleva*," or the junction of hands, that any request preferred by the bridegroom to the father of the bride should meet compliance, a usage which has yielded many fatal results; and the Rana had been prompted on this occasion to demand a body of ten thousand Jat cultivators to repeople the deserted fisc of Mewar. An assent was given to the unprecedented demand, but when the inhabitants were thus despotically called on to migrate, they

* Nehrwala of D'Anville; the Balhara sovereignty of the Arabian travellers of the eighth and ninth centuries. I visited the remains of this city on my last journey, and from original authorities shall give an account of this ancient emporium of commerce and literature.

† *Salvamenta* of the European system.

denied the power and refused. "Shall we," said they," abandon the lands of our inheritance (*bapota*), the property of our children, to accompany a stranger into a foreign land, there to labour for him? Kill us you may, but never shall we relinquish our inalienable rights." The Mundore prince, who had trusted to this reply, deemed himself exonerated from his promise, and secured from the loss of so many subjects: but he was deceived. The Rana held out to them the enjoyment of the proprietary rights escheated to the crown in his country, with the lands left without occupants by the sword, and to all increase of property. When an equal and absolute power was thus conferred, they no longer hesitated to exchange the arid soil of Marwar for the garden of Rajwarra: and the descendants of these Jats still occupy the flats watered by the Beris and Bunas.

In those districts which afforded protection from innovation, the proprietary right of the ryot will be found in full force; of this the populous and extensive district of Jehajpur, consisting of one hundred and six townships, affords a good specimen. There are but two pieces of land throughout the whole of this tract, the property of the crown, and these were obtained by force during the occupancy of Zalim Sing of Kotah. The right thus unjustly acquired was, from the conscientiousness of the Rana's civil governor, on the point of being annulled by sale and reversion, when the court interfered to maintain its proprietary right to the tanks of Lohario and Etounda, and the lands which they irrigate, now the *l om* of the Rana.* This will serve as an illustration how *bhom* may be acquired, and the annals of Kotah will exhibit, unhappily for the Ryots of that country, the almost total annihilation of their rights, by the same summary process which originally attached Lohario to the fisc.

The power of alienation being thus proved, it would be superfluous to insist further on the proprietary right of the cultivator of the soil.

Besides the ability to alienate as demonstrated, all the overt symbols which mark proprietary right in other countries are to be found in Mewar; that of entire conveyance by sale, or temporary by mortgage, and numerous instances could be adduced, especially of the latter. The fertile lands of Horlah,

* The author has to acknowledge with regret, that he was the cause of the Meena proprietors not re-obtaining their *bapota*: this arose, partly from ignorance at the time, partly from the individual claimants being dead, and more than all, from the representation that the intended sale originated in a bribe to Sudda-Ram, the governor, which, however, was not the case.

along the banks of the Khary, are almost all mortgaged, and the registers of these transactions form two considerable volumes, in which great variety of deeds may be discovered: one extended for one hundred and one years;* when redemption was to follow, without regard to interest on the one hand, or the benefits from the land on the other, but merely by repayment of the sum borrowed. To maintain the interest during abeyance, it is generally stipulated that a certain portion of the harvest shall be reserved for the mortgagee—a fourth, a fifth, or '*googri*,'—a share so small as to be valued only as a mark of proprietary recognition.† The mortgagees were chiefly of the commercial classes of the large frontier towns; in many cases the proprietor continues to cultivate for another, the lands his ancestor mortgaged four or five generations ago, nor does he deem his right at all impaired. A plan had been sketched to raise money to redeem these mortgages, from whose complex operation the revenue was sure to suffer. No length of time or absence can affect the claim to the *bapota*, and so sacred is the right of absentees, that land will lay sterile and unproductive from the penalty which Menu denounces on all who interfere with their neighbour's rights: "for [illegible] there be an especial agreement between the owner of the land and the seed, the fruits belong clearly to the landowner;" even "if seed conveyed by water or by wind should germinate, the plant belongs to the landowner *the mere sower* takes not the fruit."‡ Even crime and the extreme sentence of the law will not alter succession to property, either to the military or cultivating vassal; and the old Kentish adage, probably introduced by the Jats from Scandinavia, who under Hengist established that kingdom of the heptarchy, *viz.*

"The father to the bough,
"And the son to the plough,"

is practically understood by the Jats and Bhomias§ of Mewar, whose treason is not deemed hereditary, nor a chain of noble acts destroyed because a false link was thrown out. We speak of the military vassals—the cultivator cannot aspire to so dignified a crime as treason.

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* Claims to the *bapota* appear to be maintainable if not alienated longer than one hundred and one years; and undisturbed possession (no matter how obtained) for the same period appears to confer this right. The *meeras* of Candeish appear to have been on the same footing. See Mr. Elphinstone's Report.

† The *sawmy begum* of the peninsula in Fifth Report, p. 356-7; correctly *swamy bhoga*, "lord's rent" in Sanskrit.

‡ Menu, 52-54, on the Servile Classes.

§ Patel.

The officers of the townships are the same as have been so often described, and are already too familiar to those interested in the subject to require illustration. From the Patel, the Cromwell of each township, to the village gossip, the ascetic Sanyasi, each deems his office, and the land he holds in virtue thereof, in perpetuity, free of rent to the state, except a small triennial quit-rent,* and the liability, like every other branch of the state, to two war taxes.†

Opinions are various as to the origin and attributes of the Patel, the most important personage in village sway, whose office is by many deemed foreign to the pure Hindu system, and to which language even his title is deemed alien. But there is no doubt that both office and title are of ancient growth, and even etymological rule proves the Patel to be head (*pati*) of the community.‡ The office of Patel of Mewar was originally elective; he was "*primus inter pares*," the constituted attorney or representative of the commune, and as the medium between the cultivator and the government, enjoyed benefits from both. Besides his *bapota*, and the *seerano*, or onefortieth of all produce from the ryot, he had a remission of a third or fourth of the rent from such extra lands as he might cultivate in addition to his patrimony. Such was the Patel, the link connecting the peasant with the government, ere predatory war subverted all order: but as rapine increased, so did his authority. He became the plenipotentiary of the community, the security for the contribution imposed, and often the hostage for its payment, remaining in the camp of the predatory hordes till they were paid off. He gladly undertook the liquidation of such contributions as these perpetual invaders imposed. To indemnify himself, a schedule was formed of the share of each ryot, and mortgage of land, and sequestration of personal effects followed till his avarice was satisfied. Who dared complain against a Patel, the intimate of Pathan and Mahratta commanders, his adopted patrons? He thus became the master of his fellow-citizens; and, as power corrupts all men, their tyrant instead of their

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* Patel *burrar*.

† The Ghur-geenti *burrar*, and Khur-lakur, or *wood and forage*, explained in the feudal system.

‡ In copper-plate grants dug from the ruins of the ancient Oojein (presented to the Royal Asiatic Soceity), the prince's patents (*putta*) conferring gifts are addressed to the *Potta-cilas* and Ryots. I never heard an etymology of this word, but imagine it to be from *patta* 'grant,' or '*patent*,' and *cila*, which means a nail, or sharp instrument; metaphorically, that which binds or unites these patents; all, however, having *pati*, or chief, as the basis—See Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. i. p. 237.

mediator. It was a system necessarily involving its own decay, for a while glutted with plenty, but failing with the supply, and ending in desolation, exile, and death. Nothing was left to prey on but the despoiled carcase; yet when peace returned, and in its train the exile ryot to reclaim the *bapota*, the vampire Patel was resuscitated, and evinced the same ardour for supremacy, and the same cupidity which had so materially aided to convert the fertile Mewar to a desert. The Patel accordingly proved one of the chief obstacles to returning prosperity; and the attempt to reduce this corrupted *middle-man* to his original station in society was both difficult and hazardous, from the support they met in the corrupt officers at court, and other influences "*behind the curtain.*" A system of renting the crown lands being deemed the most expedient to advance prosperity, it was incumbent to find a remedy for this evil. The mere name of some of these petty tyrants inspired such terror, as to check all desire of return to the country: but the origin of the institution of the office and its abuses being ascertained, it was imperative, though difficult, to restore the one and banish the other. The original elective right in many townships was therefore returned to the ryot, who nominated new Patels, his choice being confirmed by the Rana, in whose presence investiture was performed by binding a turban on the elected, for which he presented his *nuzzur.* Traces of the sale of these offices in past times were observable; and it was deemed of primary importance to avoid all such channels for corruption, in order that the ryot's election should meet with no obstacle. That the plan was beneficial there could be no doubt; that the benefit would be permanent, depended, unfortunately, on circumstances which those most anxious had not the means to control: for it must be recollected, that although "personal aid and advice might be given when asked," all internal interference was by treaty strictly, and most justly, prohibited.

After a few remarks on the mode of levying the crown-rents, we shall conclude the subject of village economy in Mewar, and proceed to close this too extended chapter with the results of four years of peace and the consequent improved prosperity.

There are two methods of levying the revenues of the crown on every description of corn—*kunkoot* and *bhuttaie*; for on sugarcane, poppy, oil, hemp, tobacco, cotton, indigo, and garden stuffs, a money payment is fixed, varying from two to six rupees per beegah. The *kunkoot* is a conjectural assessment of the standing crop, by the united judgment of the officers of government, the Patel, the Patwarri, or registrar, and the owner of the field. The accuracy with which an accustomed eye will

determine the quantity of grain on a given surface is surprising, but should the owner deem the estimate overrated, he can insist on *bhuttaie* or division of the corn after it is threshed; the most ancient and only infallible mode by which the dues either of the government or the husbandman can be ascertained. In the *bhuttaie* system, the share of the government varies from one-third to two-fifths of the spring harvest, as wheat and barley; and sometimes even half, which is the invariable proportion of the autumnal crops. In either case, *kunkoot* or *bhuttaie*, when the shares are appropriated, those of the crown may be commuted to a money payment at the average rate of the market. The *koot* is the most liable to corruption. The ryot bribes the collector, who will underrate the crop; and when he betrays his duty, the *shanah*, or watchman, is not likely to be honest: and as the *mukhee*, or Indian corn, the grand autumnal crop of Mewar, is eaten green, the crown may be defrauded of half its dues. The system is one of uncertainty, from which eventually the ryot derives no advantage, though it fosters the cupidity of patels and collectors; but there was a *burrar*, or tax, introduced to make up for this deficiency, which was in proportion to the quantity cultivated, and its amount, at the mercy of the officers. Thus the ryot went to work with a mill-stone round his neck; instead of the exhilarating reflection that every hour's additional labour was his own, he saw merely the advantage of these harpies, and contented himself with raising a scanty subsistence in a slovenly and indolent manner, by which he forfeited the ancient reputation of the Jat cultivator of Mewar.

Notwithstanding these and various other drawbacks to the prosperity of the country, in an impoverished court, avaricious and corrupt officers, discontented patels, and bad seasons, yet the final report in May 1822, could not but be gratifying when contrasted with that of February 1818. In order to ascertain the progressive improvement, a census had been made at the end of 1821, of the three central fiscal districts* watered by the Beris and Bunas. As a specimen of the whole, we may take the *tuppa* or subdivision of Sahara. Of its twenty-seven villages, six were inhabited in 1818, the number of families being *three hundred* and sixty-nine, three-fourths of whom belonged to the resumed town of Amlee. In 1821 *nine hundred* and twenty-six families were reported, and every village of the twenty-seven was occupied, so that population had almost trebled. The number of ploughs was more than trebled, and cultivation quadrupled; and though

* Mooe, Burruk, and Kupassun.

this, from the causes described, was not above one-third of what real industry might have effected, the contrast was abundantly cheering. The same ratio of prosperity applied to the entire crown demesne of Mewar. By the recovery of Komulmeer, Raepur, Rajnuggur, and Sadri-Kunero from the Mahrattas; of Jehajpur from Kotah; of the usurpations of the nobles; together with the resumption of all the estates of the females of his family, a task at once difficult and delicate;* and by the subjugation of the mountain districts of Mairwarra, a thousand towns and villages were united to form the fiscal demesne of the Rana, composing twenty-four districts of various magnitudes, divided, as in ancient times, and with the primitive appellations, into portions tantamount to the tythings and hundreds of England, the division from time immemorial amongst the Hindus.† From these and the commercial duties‡ a revenue was derived sufficient for the comforts, and even the dignities of the prince and his court, and promising an annual increase in the ratio of good government: but profusion scattered all that industry and ingenuity could collect; the artificial wants of the prince perpetuated the real necessities of the peasant, and this, it is to be feared, will continue till the present generation shall sleep with their forefathers.

Abstract of the Fiscal Revenues of Mewar in the years 1818-19-20-21-22.

Spring harvest of 1818		Rs. 40,000	
Ditto	1819	4,51,281	
Ditto	1820	6,59,100	
Ditto	1821	10,18,478	The active superintendence of the British Agent being almost entirely withdrawn.
Ditto	1822	9,36,640	

* To effect this, indispensable alike for unity of government and the establishment of a police, the individual statements of their holders were taken for the revenues they had derived from them, and money payments three times the amount were adjudged to them. They were gainers by this arrangement, and were soon loaded with jewels and ornaments, but the numerous train of harpies who cheated them and abused the poor ryot, were eternally at work to defeat all such beneficial schemes; and the counteraction of the intrigues was painful and disgusting.

† Menu ordains the division into tens, hundreds and thousands.

‡ Farmed for the ensuing three years from 1822, for seven lacs of rupees.

Abstract of Commercial Duties included in the above.

In 1818..	*Nominal.*	
1819	Rs. 96,683	
1820	1,65,108	
1821	2,20,000	Farmed for three years from 1822, for 7,50,000 Rs. which was assigned by the Rana for the liquidation of tribute fallen in arrear.
1822	2,17,000	

There are sources of wealth in Mewar yet untouched, and to which her princes owe much of their power. The tin mines of Jawara and Dureeba alone, little more than half a century ago, yielded above three lacs annually ;* besides rich copper mines in various parts. From such, beyond a doubt, much of the wealth of Mewar was extracted, but the miners are now dead, and the mines filled with water. An attempt was made to work them, but it was so unprofitable that the design was soon abandoned.

Nothing will better exemplify the progress of prosperity, than the comparative population of some of the chief towns before, and after four years of peace :

	No. of houses in 1818.	No. of houses in 1822.
Oodipur	3,500	10,000
Bhilwara	*not one*	2,700
Poorh	200	1,200
Mandel	80	400
Gogoonda	60	350

The feudal lands, which were then double the fiscal, did not exhibit the like improvement, the merchant and cultivator residing thereon not having the same certainty of reaping the fruits of their industry ; still great amelioration took place, and few were so blind as not to see their account in it.† The earnestness with which many requested the Agent to back their expressed intentions with his guarantee to their communities of the same measure of justice and protection as the fiscal tenants enjoyed, was proof that they well understood

* In S. 1816, Jawara yielded Rs. 222,000 and Dureeba Rs. 80,000. The tin of these mines contains a portion of silver.

† There are between two and three thousand towns, villages, and hamlets, besides the fiscal land of Mewar ; but the tribute of the British government is derived only from the fiscal ; it would have been impossible to collect from the feudal lands, which are burthened with service, and form the army of the state.

the benefits of reciprocal confidence; but this could not be tendered without danger. Before the Agent left the country he greatly withdrew from active interference, it being his constant, as it was his last impressive lesson, that they should rely upon themselves if they desired to retain a shadow of independence. To give an idea of the improved police, insurance which has been described as amounting to eight per cent. in a space of twenty-five miles, became almost nominal, or one-fourth of a rupee per cent. from one frontier to the other. It would, however, have been quite Utopian to have expected that the lawless tribes would remain in that stupid subordination which the unexampled state of society imposed for a time (as described in the opening of these transactions), when they found that real restraints did not follow imaginary terrors. Had the wild tribes been under the sole influence of British power, nothing would have been so simple as effectually, not only to control, but to conciliate and improve them; for it is a mortifying truth, that the more remote from civilization, the more tractable and easy was the object to manage, more especially the Bhil.* But these children of nature were incorporated in the demesnes of the feudal chiefs, who when they found our system did not extend to perpetual control, returned to their habits of oppression: this provoked retaliation, which to subdue requires more power than the Rana yet possesses, and, in the anomalous state of our alliances, will always be an embarrassing task to whosoever may exercise political control.

In conclusion, it is to be hoped that the years of oppression that have swept the land will be held in remembrance by the protecting power, and that neither petulance nor indolence will lessen the benevolence which restored life to Mewar, or mar the picture of comparative happiness it created.

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* Sir John Malcolm's wise and philanthropic measures for the reclamation of this race in Malwa will support my assertions.

The Sixteen chief Nobles of Mewar, their Titles, Names, Clans, Tribes, Estates, number of Villages in each, and their Value.

Title.	Names.	Clan.	Tribe.	Estate.	Number of Villages.	Value, A.D.1760	Remarks.
Raj	Chundun Sing	Jhala	Jhala	Sadri	127	100,000	These estates are all diminished one-half in nominal amount; and their revenues still more.
Rao	Pertap Sing	Chohan	Chohan	Baidla	80	100,000	
Rao	Mokim Sing	Chohan	Chohan	Kotario	65	80,000	
Rawut	Pudma Sing	Chondawut	Seesodia	Saloombra	85	84,000	Would realize this if cultivated.
Thacoor	Zorawur Sing	Mairtea	Rahtore	Ganora	100	100,000	This chief ceases to be one of the 16 since the Rana lost the province of Godwar.
Rao	Kesudas	.....	Pramar	Bijolli	40	45,000	Would realize this if cultivated.
Rawut	Gokuldas	Sangawut	Seesodia	Deogurh	125	80,000	Would realize more if cultivated.
Rawut	Maha Sing	Megawut	Seesodia	Beygoo	150	200,000	This includes usurpations —now seized by Sindhia. The estate would realize 70,000, if cultivated.
Raj	Kalian Sing	Jhala	Jhala	Dailwarra	125	100,000	Would realize two-thirds if cultivated.
Rawut	Salim Sing	Jugawut	Seesodia	Amait	60	60,000	Do. do.

Raj	Chutter Sal	Jhala	Jhala	Gogoonda	50	50,000	Would realize this if cultivated.
Rawut	Futteh Sing	Sarangdeote	Seesodia	Kanorh	50	95,000	Would realize half if cultivated.
Mahraja	Zorawur Sing	Suktawut	Seesodia	Bheendir	64	64,000	Would realize this if cultivated.
Thacoor	Jeyt Sing	Mairtea	Rahtore	Bednore	80	80,000	Do. do.
Rawut	Salim Sing	Suktawut	Seesodia	Bansi	40	40,000	These chiefs have lost all their influence and half their estates.
Rao	Soorajmul	Chohan	Chohan	Parsoli	40	40,000	
Rawut	Kesuri Sing	Kishenawut	Seesodia	Bhynsor	60	60,000	These chiefs have taken rank on the depression of the above—they never appear at court on the same day.
Rawut	Jowan Sing	Kishenawut	Seesodia	Korabur	35	35,000	
Total number and estimated value of their estates sixty years ago, omitting Bhynsror and Korabur, then enrolled in the second grade of chieftains					1,181	13,10,000	

Note.—The inferior grades possessed estates to a still larger amount, conjointly yielding a revenue of thirty lacks of rupees; and as each thousand rupees of estate furnished on emergency three horses completely equipped, the feudal interest could supply nine thousand horse, besides foot, of which they make little account.

RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS,

FESTIVALS, AND CUSTOMS

OF

MEWAR.

CHAPTER XIX.

Influence of the hierarchy in Rajpootana.—Emulation of its princes in grants to the priesthood.—Analogy between the customs of the Hindus, in this respect, and those of the ancient people.—Superstition of the lower orders.—Secret influence of the Brahmins on the higher classes.—Their frauds.—Ecclesiastical dues from the lands &c.—The Saivas of Rajasthan.—The worship and shrine of Eklinga.—The Jains.—Their numbers and extensive power.—The temple of Nathdwara, and worship of Kaniya.—The privilege of sanctuary.—Predominance of the doctrines of Kaniya beneficial to Rajpoot society.

IN all ages the ascendancy of the hierarchy is observable; it is a tribute paid to religion through her organs. Could the lavish endowments and extensive immunities of the various religious establishments in Rajasthan be assumed as criteria of the morality of the inhabitants, we should be authorized to assign them a high station in the scale of excellence. But they more frequently prove the reverse of this position; especially the territorial endowments, often the fruits of a death-bed repentance,* which, prompted by superstition or fear, compounds for past crimes by posthumous profusion although vanity not rarely lends her powerful aid. There is scarcely a state in Raj-

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* Menu commands, "Should the king be near his end through some incurable disease, he must bestow on the priests all his riches accumulated from legal fines: and having duly committed his kingdom, to his son, let him seek death in battle, or, if there be no war, by abstaining from food.' —Chap. ix, p. 337, *Haughton's edition.* The annals of all the Rajpoot States afford instances of obedience to this text of their divine legislator.

and the personal welfare of the sovereign. The latter is often surrounded by lay-Brahmins, as confidential servants, in the capacities of butler, keeper of the wardrobe, or seneschal,* besides the *Guru* or domestic chaplain, who to the duty of ghostly comforter sometimes joins that of astrologer and physician, in which case God help the prince!† These *Gurus* and *Purohits*, having the education of the children, acquire immense influence, and are not backward in improving "the greatness thrust upon them." They are all continually importuning their prince for grants of land for themselves and the shrines they are attached to; and every chief, as well as

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* These lay-Brahmins are not wanting in energy or courage; the sword is as familiar to them as the *mala* (chaplet). The grandfather of Ramnath, the present worthy seneschal of the Rana, was governor of the turbulent district of Jehajpur, which has never been so well ruled since. He left a curious piece of advice to his successors, inculcating vigorous measures. "With two thousand men you may eat *khitchri*; with one thousand *dalbhat*; with five hundred *juti* (the *shoe*)." *Khitchri* is a savoury mess of pulse, rice, butter, and spices; *dalbhat* is simple rice and pulse; *the shoe* is indelible disgrace.

† Menu, in his rules on government, commands the king to impart his momentous counsel and entrust all transactions to a learned distinguished Brahmin. *Chap.* vii. p. 195.

There is no being more aristocratic in his ideas than the secular Brahmin or priest, who deems the bare name a passport to respect. The *Kulin* Brahmin of Bengal piques himself upon *this* title of nobility granted by the last Hindu king of Canouj (whence they migrated to Bengal), and in virtue of which his alliance in matrimony is courted. But although Menu has imposed obligations towards the Brahmin little short of adoration, these are limited to the "learned in the *Vedas*." He classes the unlearned Brahmin with "an elephant made of wood, or an antelope of leather," nullities, save in name. And he adds further, that "as liberality to a fool is useless, so is a Brahmin useless if he read not the holy texts:" comparing the person who gives to such an one, to a husbandman who, sowing seed in a barren soil, reaps no gain;" so the Brahmin obtains no reward in heaven." These sentiments are repeated in various texts, holding out the most powerful inducements to the sacerdotal class to cultivate their minds, since their power consists solely in their wisdom. For such, there are no privileges too extensive, no homage too great. "A king, even though dying *with want*, must not receive any tax from a Brahmin learned in the *Vedas*." His person is sacred. "Never shall the king slay a Brahmin, though convicted of all possible crimes," is a premium at least to unbounded insolence, and unfits them for members of society, more especially for soldiers: banishment, with person and property untouched, is the declared punishment for even the most heinous crimes. "A Brahmin may seize without hesitation, if he be distressed for a subsistence, the goods of his *Sudra slave*." But the following text is the climax: 'What prince could gain wealth by oppressing these [Brahmins], who, if angry, could frame other worlds, and regents of worlds, and could give birth to new gods and motals?" *Menu*, chaps. ii, iii, vii, viii, ix.

every influential domestic, takes advantage of ephemeral favour to increase the endowments of his tutelary divinity. The Peshwas of Satarra are the most striking out of numerous examples.

In the dark ages of Europe the monks are said to have prostituted their knowledge of writing to the forging of charters in their own favour: a practice not easily detected in the days of ignorance.* The Brahmins, in like manner, do not scruple to employ this method of augmenting the wealth of their shrines; and superstition and indolence combine to support the deception. There is not a doubt that the grand charter of Nathdwara was a forgery, in which the prince's butler was bribed to aid; and report alleges that the Rana secretly favoured an artifice which regard to opinion prevented him from overtly promulgating. Although the copper-plate had been buried under ground, and came out disguised with a coating of verdigrise, there were marks which proved the date of its execution to be false. I have seen charters which, it has been gravely asserted, were granted by Rama upwards of three thousand years ago! Such is the origin assigned to one found in a well at the valley of the capital. If there be sceptics as to its validity, they are silent ones; and this copper-plate of the brazen age is worth gold to the proprietor.† A census‡ of the three central districts of Mewar discovered that more than twenty thousand acres of these fertile lands, irrigated by the Beris and Bunas rivers, were distributed in isolated portions, of which the mendicant castes had the chief share, and which proved fertile sources of dispute to the husbandman and the officers of the revenue. From the mass of title-deeds of every description by which these lands were held one deserves to be selected, on account of its being pretended to have been written and bestowed on the incumbent's ancestors by the deity upwards of three centuries ago, and which has been maintained as a *bona-fide* grant of Chrishna's ever since. By such credulity and apathy are the Rajpoot states influenced: yet let the reader check any rising feeling of contempt for Hindu legislation, and cast a retrospective glance

* Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. i. page 24.

† These forgeries of charters cannot be considered as invalidating the arguments drawn from them, as we may rest assured nothing is introduced foreign to custom, in the items of the deeds.

‡ Suggested by the author, and executed under his superintendence, who waded through all these documents, and translated upwards of a hundred of the most curious.

§ See the *Appendix* to this Part, No. II.

at the page of European church-history, where he will obseve in the time of the most potent of our monarchs that the clergy possessed *one-half* of the soil:* and the chronicle of France will shew him Charlemagne on his death-bed, bequeathing *two-thirds* of his domains to the church, deeming the remaining third sufficient for the ambition of four sons. The same dread of futurity, and the hope to expiate the sins of a life at its close, by gifts to the organs of religion, is the motive for these unwise alienations, whether in Europe or in Asia. Some of these establishments, and particularly that at Nathdwara, made a proper use of their revenues in keeping up the *Sudda Birt*, or perpetual charity, though it is chiefly distributed to religious pilgrims: but among the many complaints made of the misapplication of the funds the diminution of this hospitable right is one: while, at other shrines, the avarice of the priests is observable in the coarseness of the food dressed for sacrifice and offering.

Besides the crown-grants to the greater establishments, the Brahmins received petty tythes from the agriculturist, and a small duty from the trader, *mappa* or metage, througout every township, corresponding with the scale of the village-chapel. An inscription found by the author at the town of Palode,† and dated nearly seven centuries back, affords a good specimen of the claims of the village priesthood. The following are among the items. The *seerano*, or a *seer*, in every *maund*, being the fortieth part of the grain of the *oonalu*, or summer-harvest; the *kirpa*, or a bundle from every sheaf of the autumnal crops, whether *mukhi* (Indian corn), *bajra* or *joar* (maize), or the other grains peculiar to that season.‡

They also derive a tythe from the oil-mill and sugar-mill, and receive a *khansa* or platter of food on all rejoicings, as births, marriages, &c., with *churaie*, or the right of pasturage on the village common; and where they have become possessed of landed property they have *hulmoh*, or unpaid labour in man, beasts, and implements, for its culture: an exaction well known in Europe as one of the detested *corvees* of the feudal system of France,§ the abolition of which was the sole boon the English husbandman obtained by the charter of Runymede. Both the chieftain and the priest exact *hulmoh* in Rajasthan; but in that country it is mitigated, and abuse is

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* Hallam.

† See Appendix to this Part, No. III.

‡ Each bundle consists of a specified number of ears, which are roasted and eaten in the unripe state with a little salt.

§ *Diet. de l' Ancien Regime*, p. 131; art *Corvee*.

prevented, by a sentiment unknown to the feudal despot of the middle ages of Europe, and which, though difficult to define, acts imperceptibly, having its source in accordance of belief, patriarchal manners, and clannish attachments.

I shall now briefly consider the privileges of the Saivas and Jains—the orthodox and heterodox sects of Mewar; and then proceed to those of Vishnu, whose worship is the most prevalent in these countries, and which I am inclined to regard as of more recent origin.

Mahadeva, or Iswara, is the tutelary divinity of the Rajpoots in Mewar; and from the early annals of the dynasty appears to have been, with his consort Isani, the sole object of *Gehlote* adoration. Iswara is adored under the epithet of Eklinga,* and is either worshipped in his monolithic symbol, or as Iswara Chaomukhi, the quadriform divinity, represented by a bust with four faces. The sacred bull, Nanda, has his alter attached to all the shrines of Iswara, as was that of Mneves or Apis to those of the Egyptain Osiris. Nanda has occasionally his separate shrines, and there is one in the valley of Oodipur which has the reputation of being oracular as regards the seasons. The bull was the steed of Iswara, and carried him in battle; he is often represented upon it, with his consort Isa, at full speed. I will not stop to inquire whether the Grecian fable of the rape of Europa† by the tauriform Jupiter, may not be derived, with much more of their mythology, from the Hindu pantheon; whether that pantheon was originally erected on the Indus or the Ganges, or the more central scene of early civilization, the banks of the Oxus. The bull was offered to Mithras by the Persian, and opposed as it now appears to Hindu faith, he formerly bled on the altars of the Sun-god, on which not only the Buld-dan,‡ '*offering of*

† That is, with *one* (*ek*) *lingam* or *phallus*—the symbol of worship being a single cylindricial or conical stone. There are others, termed *Seheslinga* and *Kotiswara*, with a thousand or a million of phallic representatives, all minutely carved on the monolithic emblem, having then much resemblance to the symbol of Bacchus, whose orgies both in Egypt and Greece, are the counterpart of those of the Hindu *Bagh-es* thus called from being clad in a tiger's or leopard's hide; Bacchus had the panther's for his covering. There is a very ancient temple to Kotiswara at the *embouchure* of the eastern arm of the Indus; and there are many to Seheslinga in the peninsula of Saurashtra.

* It might have appeard fanciful, some time ago, to have given a Sancrit derivation to a Greek proper name: but *Europa* might be derived from *Surupa*, 'of the beautiful face—the initial syllable *su* and *eu* having the same signification in both languages, *viz. good—Rupa* is countenance.'

† "In this sacrifice four altars are erected, for offering the flesh to the four gods, Lacshmi-Narayana, Uma-Meheswara, Bramha, and Anunta.

the bull.' was made, but human sacrifices.* We do not learn that the Egyptian priesthood presented the kinderd of Apis to Osiris, but as they were not prohibited from eating beef, they may have done so.

The shrine of Eklinga is situated in a defile about six miles north of Oodipur. The hills towering around it on all sides are of the primitive formation, and their scarped summits are clustered with honeycombs.† There are abundant small springs of water, which keep verdant numerous shrubs, the flowers of which are acceptable to the deity; especially the *kiner* or oleander, which grows in great luxuriance on the Aravali. Groves of bamboo and mango were formerly common, according to tradition; but although it is deemed sacrilege to thin the groves of Bal,‡ the bamboo has been nearly destroyed: there are however, still many trees sacred to the deity scattered around. It would be difficult to convey a just idea of temple so complicated in its details, It is of the form commonly styled pagoda, and, like all the ancient temples of Siva, its *sikra*, or pinnacle, is pyramidal. The various order of Hindu sacred architecture are distinguished by the form of

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The nine planets, and Prithi, or the earth, with her ten guardian-deities are worshipped. Five *Vilwa*, five *Khudiru*, five *Pulhu*, and five *Udumburu* posts are to be erected, and a bull tied to each post. Clarified butter is burnt on the altar, and pieces of the flesh of the slaughtered animals placed thereon. This sacrifice was very common."—Ward *on the Religion of the Hindus*, vol. ii. p. 263.

* "First a covered altar is to be prepared; sixteen posts are then to be erected of various woods; a golden image of a man, and an iron one of a goat, with golden images of Vishnu and Lacshmi, a silver one of Siva, with a golden bull, and a silver one of Garuda, *the eagle*, are placed upon the alter. Animals, as goats, sheep, &c., are tied to the posts, and to one of them, of the wood of the *mimosa*, is to be tied the human victim. Fire is to be kindled by means of a burning glass. The sacrificing priest, '*hota*' strews the grass called *dhub* or immortal, round the sacred fire. Then follows the burnt sacrifice to the ten guardian deities of the earth—to the nine planets, and to the Hindu Triad, to each of whom clarified butter is poured on the sacred fire one thousand times. Another burnt-sacrifice, to the sixty-four inferior gods, follows, which is succeeded by the sacrifice and offering of all the other animals tied to the posts. The human sacrifice concludes, the sacrificing priest offering pieces of the flesh of the victim to each god as he circumambulates the altar."—*Ibid.* 260.

† This is to be taken in its literal sense; the economy of the bee being displayed in the formation of extensive colonies which inhabit large masses of black comb adhering to the summits of the rocks. According to the legends of these tracts, they were called in as auxiliaries on Mahomedan invasions, and are said to have thrown the enemy more than once into confusion.

‡ See Appendix to this Part, No. IV.

the *sikra*, which is the portion springing from and surmounting the perpendicular walls of the body of the temple. The *sikra* of those of Siva is invariably pyramidal, and its sides vary with the base, whether square or oblong. The apex is crowned with an ornamental figure, as a sphynx, an urn, a ball, or a lion, which is called the *kullus*. When the *sikra* is but the frustrum of a pyramid, it is often surmounted by a row of lions as at Bijolli. The fane of Eklinga is of white marble and of ample dimensions. Under an open-vaulted temple supported by columns, and fronting the four-faced divinity, is the brazen bull Nanda, of the natural size; it is cast, and of excellent proportions. The figure is perfect, except where the shot or hammer of an infidel invader has penetrated its hollow flank in search of treasure. Within the quadrangle are miniature shrines, containing some of the minor divinities.* The high-priest of Eklinga, like all his order, is doomed to celibacy, and the office is continued by adopted disciples. Of such spiritual descents they calculate sixty-four since the Sage Harita, whose benediction obtained for the Gehlote Rajpoot the sovereignty of Cheetore, when driven from Saurashtra by the Parthians.

The priests of Eklinga are termed Gosaen or Goswami, which signifies "control over the senses!" The distinguishing mark of the faith of Siva is the crescent on the forehead :† the hair is braided and forms a tiara round the head, and with its folds a chaplet of the lotus-seed is often entwined. They smear the body with ashes, and use garments dyed of an orange hue.

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* In June 1806 I was pressent at a meeting between the Rana and Sindhia at the shrine of Eklinga. The rapacious Mahratta had just forced the passes to the Rana's capital, which was the commencement of a series of aggressions involving one of the most tragical events in the history of Mewar—the immolation of the Princess Krishna and the subsequent ruin of the country. I was then an *attache* of the British embassy to the Mahratta prince, who carried the ambassador to the meeting to increase his consequence. In March 1818 I again visited the shrine, on my way to Oodipur, but under very different circumstances—to announce the deliverance of the family from oppression, and to labour for its prosperity. While standing without the sanctuary, looking at the quadriform divinity, and musing on the changes of the intervening twelve years, my meditations were broken by an old Rajpoot chieftain, who saluting me, invited me to enter and adore Baba Adam, 'Father Adam' as he termed the phallic emblem. I excused myself on account of my boots, which I said I could not remove, and that with them I would not cross the threshold: a reply which pleased him, and preceded me to the Rana's court.

† Siva is represented with three eyes: hence his title of Trinetra and Tri-lochun, the Tri-ophalmic Jupiter of the Greeks. From the fire of the central eye of Siva is to proceed Pralaya, or the final destruction of the universe: this eye placed vertically, resembling the flame of a taper is a distinguishing mark on the foreheads of his votaries.

They bury their dead in a sitting posture, and erect tumuli over them, which are generally conical in form. * It is not uncommon for priestesses to officiate in the temple of Siva. There is a numerous class of Gosaens who have adopted celibacy, and who yet follow secular employments both in commerce and arms. The mercantile Gosaens† are amongst the richest individuals in India, and there are several at Oodipur who enjoy high favour, and who were found very useful when the Mahrattas demanded a war-contribution, as their privileged character did not prevent their being offered and taken as hostages for its payment. The Gosaens who profess arms, partake of the character of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem. They live in monasteries scattered over the country, possess lands, and beg, or serve for pay when called upon. As defensive soldiers, they are good. Siva, their patron, is the god of war, and like him they make great use of intoxicating herbs, and even of spirituous liquors. In Mewar they can always muster many hundreds of the Kanfora Yogi, or 'split-ear ascetics,' so called from the habit of piercing the ear and placing therein a ring of the conch-shell, which is their battle-trumpet. Both Brahmins and Rajpoots, and even Goojers, can belong to this order, a particular account of whose internal discipline and economy could not fail to be interesting. The poet Chund gives an animated description of the body-guard ‡ of the King of Canouj which was composed of these monastic warriors.

The Ranas of Mewar, as the *dewans*, or vicegerents of Siva, when they visit the temple supersede the high priest in his duties, and perform the ceremonies, which the reigning prince does with peculiar correctness and grace.§

The shrine of Eklinga is endowed with twenty-four large villages from the fisc, besides parcels of land from the chieftains; but the privileges of the tutelary divinity have been waning since Kaniya fixed his residence amongst them: and as the priests of Apollo complained that the god was driven

* I have seen a cemetery of each of very small dimensions, which may be described as so many concentric of rings of earth, diminishing to the apex, crowned with a cylindrical stone pillar. One of the disciples of Siva was performing rites to the manes, strewing leaves of an evergreen and sprinkling water over the graves.

† For a description of this, *vide* "*Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*," vol. i. p. 217.

‡ See portrait of these.

§ The copy of the *Siva Puran* which I presented to the Royal Asiatic Society, was obtained for me by the Rana from the temple of Eklinga.

from the sacred mount Girdhana, in Vrij, by the influence of those of Jupiter* with Shah Jehan, the latter may now lament that the day of retribution has arrived, when propitiation to the Preserver is deemed more important than to the Destroyer. This may arise from the personal character of the high priests, who, from their vicinity to the court, can scarcely avoid mingling in its intrigues, and thence lose in character: even the Ranees do not hesitate to take mortgages on the estates of Bhola Nath.† We shall not further enlarge on the immunities to Eklinga, or the forms in which they are conveyed, as these will be fully discussed in the account of the shrine of Chrishna; but proceed to notice the privileges of the heterodox Jains—the Vediavan‡ or Magi of Rajasthan. The numbers and power of these sectarians are little known to Europeans, who take it for granted that they are few and dispersed. To prove the extent of their religious and political power, it will suffice to remark, that the pontiff of the Khartra-gatcha,§ one of the many branches of this faith, has 11,000 clerical disciples scattered

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* Jiva-pitri, the Father of Life,' would be a very proper epithet for Mahadeva, the 'creative power,' whose Olympus is Kailash.

† Bhola Nath or the Simple God, is one of the epithets of Siva, whose want of reflections is so great, that he would give away his own divinity if asked.

‡ Vedyavan, the 'Man of Secrets or Knowledge,' is the term used by way of reproach to the Jains, having the import of *magician*. Their opponents believe them to be possessed of supernatural skill; and it is recorded of the celebrated Umara, author of the *Cosa* or dictionary called after him, that he miraculously "*made the full moon appear on Amavysa*"—the ides of the month, when the planet is invisible.

§ Khartra signifies 'true', an epithet of distinction which was bestowed by that great supporter of the Buddists, or Jains, Sidraj, king of Anhulwarra Puttun, on one of the branches (*gatcha*), in a grand religious disputation (*bada*) at that capital in the eleventh century. The celebrated Hemachandra Acharya was head of the *Khartra-gatchas*; and his spiritual descendant honoured Oodipur with his presence in his visit to his dioceses in the desert in 1821. My own *Yati*, tutor, was a disciple of Hemachandra: and his *patravali*, or pedigree, registered his descent by spiritual succession from him.

This pontiff was a man of extensive learning and of estimable character. He was versed in all the ancient inscriptions, to which no key now exists, and decyphered one for me which had been long unintelligible. His travelling library was of considerable extent, though chiefly composed of works relating to the ceremonies of his religion: it was in the charge of two of his disciples remarkable for talent, and who, like himself, were perfectly acquainted with all these ancient characters. The pontiff kindly permitted my *Yati* to bring for my inspection some of the letters of invitation written by his flocks in the desert. These were rolls, some of them several feet in length, containing pictured delineations of their wishes. One from Bikaneer represented that city, in one division of which was the school or college of the Jains, where the *Yatis* were all pourtrayed at

over India ; that a single community, the Ossi or Oswal,* numbers 100,000 families ; and that more than half of the mercantile wealth of India passes through the hands of the Jain laity. Rajasthan and Saurashtra are the cradles of the Buddhist or Jain faith, and three out of their five sacred mounts, namely, Abu, Palithana,† and Girna, are in these countries. The officers of the state and revenue are chiefly of the Jain laity, as are the majority of the bankers, from Lahore to the ocean. The chief magistrate and assessors of justice, in Oodipur and most of the towns of Rajasthan, are of this sect ; and as their voluntary duties are confined to civil cases, they are as competent in these as they are the reverse in criminal cases, from their tenets forbidding the shedding of blood. To this leading feature in their religion they owe their political debasement : for Komarpal, the last king of Anhulwara of the Jain faith, would not march his armies in the rains, from the unavoidable sacrifice of animal life that must have ensued. The strict Jain does not even maintain a lamp during that season, lest it should attract moths to their destruction.

The period of sectarian intolerance is now past ; and as far as my observation goes, the ministers of Vishnu, Siva, and Budha, view each other without malignity ; which feeling never appears to have influenced the laity of either sect, who are indiscriminately respectful to the ministers of all religions, whatever be their tenets. It is sufficient that their office is one of sanctity, and that they are ministers of the Divinity, who, they say, excludes the homage of none, in whatever tongue, or whatever manner he is sought ; and with this spirit of entire

their various studies. In another part, a procession of them was quitting the souther gate of the city, the head of which was in the act of delivering a scroll to a messenger, while the pontiff was seen with his *cortege* advancing in the distance. To shew the respect in which these high priests of the Jains are held, the princes of Rajpootna invariably advance outside the walls of their capital to receive and conduct them to it—a mark of respect paid only to princes. On the occasion of the high priest of the *Khartras* passing through Oodipur, as above alluded to, the Rana received him with every distinction.

* So called foom the town of Ossa, in the Marwar.

† Pali-thana or 'the abode of the Pali,' is the name of the town at the foot of the sacred mount Satrunjya (signifying '*victorious over the foe*) on which the Jain temples are sacred to Budhiswara, or the '*Lord of the Budhists.*' I have little doubt that the name of Pali-thana is derived from the pastrol *(pali)* Scythic invaders bringing the Budhist faith in their train—a faith which appears to me not indigenous to India. Palestine, which, with the whole of Syria and Egypt, was ruled by the Yksos or Shephered-kings, who for a season expelled the old Coptic race, may have had a similar import to the *Pali-thana* founded by the Indo-Scythic Pali. The author visited all these sacred mounts.

toleration, the devout missionary, or Moola, would in no country meet more security or hospitable courtesy than among the Rajpoots. They must, however, adopt the toleration they would find practised towards themselves, and not exclude, as some of them do, the races of Surya and Chundra from divine mercy, who, with less arrogance, and more reliance on the compassionate nature of the Creator, say, he has established a variety of paths by which the good may attain beatitude.

Mewar has, from the most remote period, afforded a refuge to the followers of the Jain faith, which was the religion of Ballabhi, the first capital of the Rana's ancestors, and many monuments attest the support this family has granted to its professors in all the vicissitudes of their fortunes. One of the best preserved monumental remains in India is a column most elaborately sculptured, full seventy feet in height, dedicated to Parswa-nath, in Cheetore. The noblest remains of sacred architecture, not in Mewar only, but throughout Western India, are Budhist or Jain : and the many ancient cities where this religion was fostered, have inscriptions which evince their prosperity in these countries, with whose history their own is interwoven. In fine, the necrological records of the Jains bear witness to their having occupied a distinguished place in Rajpoot society ; and the privileges they still enjoy, prove that they are not overlooked. It is not my intention to say more on the past or present history of these sectarians, than may be necessary to shew the footing on which their establishments are placed ; to which end little is required beyond copies of a few simple warrants and ordinances in their favour. * Hereafter I may endeavour to add something to the knowledge already possessed of these deists of Rajasthan, whose singular communities contain mines of knowledge hitherto inaccessible to Europeans. The libraries of Jessulmeer in the desert, of Anhulwara, the cradle of their faith, of Cambay, and other places of minor importance, consist of thousands of volumes. These are under the control, not of the priests alone, but of communities of the most wealthy and respectable amongst the laity, and are preserved in the crypts of their temples, which precaution ensured their preservation, as well as that of the statues of their deified teachers, when the temples themselves were destroyed by the Mahommedan invaders, who paid more deference to the images of Budha than to those of Siva or Vishnu. The preservation of the former may be owing to the natural formation of their statues ; for while many of Adnath,

* See Appendix to this part.

of Nemi, and of Parswa, have escaped the hammer, there is scarcely an Apollo or a Venus, of any antiquity entire, from Lahore to Rameswara. The two arms of these theists sufficed for their protection; while the statues of the polythiests have met with no mercy.

No. V.* is the translation of a grant by the celebrated Rana Raj Sing, the gallant and successful opponent of Arungzebe in many a battle. It is at once of a general and special nature, containing a confirmation of the old privileges of the sect, and a mark of favour to a priest of some distinction, called Manoh. It is well known that the first law of the Jains, like that of the ancient Athenian lawgiver Triptolemus, is, "Thou shalt not kill," a precept applicable to every sentient thing. The first clause of this edict, in conformity thereto, prohibits all innovation upon this cherished principle; while the second declares that even the life which is forfeited to the laws is immortal (*amara*) if the victim but passes near their abodes. The third article defines the extent of *sirna*, or sanctuary, the dearest privilege of the races of these regions. The fourth article sanctions the tythes, both on agricultural and commercial produce; and makes no distinction between the Jain priests and those of Siva and Vishnu in the source of income, which will be more fully detailed in this account of Nathdwara. The fifth article is the particular gift to the priest; and the whole closes with the usual anathema against such as may infringe ordinance.

The edicts Nos. VI. and VII.,† engraved on pillars of stone in the towns of Rasmi and Bakrole, further illustrate the scrupulous observances of the Rana's house towards the Jains; where, in compliance with their peculiar doctrine, the oil-mill and the potter's wheel suspend their revolutions for the four months in the year when insects most abound. Many others of a similar character could be furnished, but these remarks may be concluded with an instance of the influence of the Jains on Rajpoot society, which passed immediately under the author's eye. In the midst of a sacrifice to the god of war, when the victims were rapidly falling by the scymitar, a request preferred by one of them for the life of a goat or a buffalo on the point of immolation, met instant compliance, and the animal, become *amara* or immortal, with a garland thrown round his neck, was led off in triumph from the blood-stained spot.

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* See *Appendix* to this article.
† Ibid.

NATHDWARA.—This is the most celebrated of the fanes of the Hindu Apollo. Its etymology is 'the portal (*dwara*) of the god' (*nath*), of the same import as his more ancient shrine of Dwarica* at the '*world's end*'. Nathdwara is twenty-two miles N. N. E. of Oodipur, on the right bank of the Bunas. Although the principal resort of the followers of Vishnu, it has nothing very remarkable in its structure or situation. It owes its celebrity entirely to the image of Krishna, said to be the same that has been worshipped at Mathura ever since his deification, between eleven and twelve hundred years before Christ.† As containing the representative of the mildest of the gods of Hind, Nathdwara is one of the most frequented places of pilgrimage, though it must want that attraction to the classical Hindu which the caves of Gaya, the shores of the distant Dwarica, or the pastoral Vrij,‡ the place of the nativity of Krishna, present to his imagination; for though the groves of Vrinda,§ in which Kaniya disported with the Gopis, no longer resound to the echoes of his flute; though the waters of the Yamuna‖ are daily polluted with the blood of the sacred kine, still it is the holy land of the pilgrim, the sacred Jordan of his fancy, on whose banks he may sit and weep, as did the banished Israelite of old, the glories of Mathura, his Jerusalem!

It was in the reign of Arungzebe that the pastoral divinity was exiled from Vrij, that classic soil, which, during a period

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* Dwarica is at the point called Juggut Ka ant, of the Saurashtra peninsula. *Ka* is the mark of the genitive case: *Dwarka-nath* would be the god of the 'gate.'

† Fifty-seven descents are given, both in their sacred and profane genealogies, from Crishna to the princes supposed to have been contemporary with Vicramaditya. The *Yadu Bhatti* or *Shamah Bhatti* (the *Asham Betti* of Abul Fusil), draw their pedigree from Chrisna or Yadunath as do the *Jharejas* of Kutch.

‡ With Mathura, as a centre and a radius of eighty miles, describe a circle: all within it is Vrij, which was the seat of whatever was refined in Hinduism, and whose language, the Vrij-bhasha, was the purest dialect of India. *Vrij* is tantamount to the land of the Suraseni, derived from Surasen, the ancestor of Crishna, whose capital, Surapuri, is about fifty miles south of Mathura on the Yamuna (Jamna). The remains of this city (Surapuri) the author had the pleasure of discovering. The province of the Surseni, or Suraseni, is defined by Menu, and particularly mentioned by the historians of Alexander.

§ *Vrindavana* or the 'forests of Vrinda,' in which were placed many temples sacred to Kaniya, is on the Yumuna, a few miles above Mathura. A pilgrimage to these temples is indispensable to the true votary of Crishna.

‖ This river is called the *Kal* Yamuna, or *black* Yamuna, and *Kali-dah* or the 'black pool' from Kaniya having destroyed the hydra Kaliya which infested it. Jayadeva calls the Yamuna '*the blue daughter of the sun.*'

of two thousand eight hundred years had been the sanctuary of his worshippers. He had been compelled to occasional flights during the visitations of Mahmood and the first dynasties of Afghan invaders; though the more tolerant of the Mogul kings not only reinstated him, but were suspected of dividing their faith between Kaniya and the prophet. Akbar was an enthusiast in the mystic poetry of Jayadeva, which paints in glowing colours the loves of Kaniya and Radha, in which lovely personification the refined Hindu abjures all sensual interpretation, asserting its character of pure spiritual love.*

Jehangeer, by birth half a Rajpoot, was equally indulgent to the worship of Kaniya: but Shah Jehan, also the son of a Rajpoot princess, inclined to the doctrines of Siva, in which he was initiated by Sid-rup the Sanyasi. Sectarian animosity is more virulent than faiths totally dissimilar. Here we see Hindu depressing Hindu: the followers of Siva, oppressing those of Kaniya; the priests of Jupiter driving the pastoral Apollo from the Parnassus of Vrij. At the intercession, however, of a princess of Oodipur he was replaced on his altar, where he remained till Arungzebe became emperor of the Moguls. In such detestation did the Hindus hold this intolerant king, that in like manner as they supposed the beneficent Akbar to be the devout Mukoond in a former birth, so they make the tyrant's body enclose the soul of Kal-Yamun, the foe of Krishna, ere his apotheosis, from whom he fled to Dwarica, and thence acquired the name of Rinchor.†

When Arungzebe proscribed Kaniya, and rendered his shrines impure throughout Vrij, Rana Raj Sing "offered the heads of one hundred thousand Rajpoots for his service," and the god was conducted by the route of Kotah and Rampura to Mewar. An omen decided the spot of his future residence. As he journeyed to gain the capital of the Seesodias, the chariot-wheel sunk deep into the earth and defied extrication upon which the *Sookuni* (augur) interpreted the pleasure of the

* It affords an example of the Hindu doctrine of the Metempsychosis as well as of the regard which Akbar's toleration had obtained him, to mention, that they held his body to be animated by the soul of a celebrated Hindu gymnosophist: in support of which they say, he (Akber) went to his accustomed spot of penance (*tapasya*) at the confluence of the Yamuna and Ganges, and excavated the implements, *viz.* the tongs, gourd and deer-skin, of his anchorite existence.

† *Rin*, the "field of battle', *Chor*, from *chorna*, to abandon.' Hence Rinchor, one of the titles under which Krishna is worshipped at Dwarica is most unpropitious to the martial Rajpoot. Kal-Yamun, the foe from whom he fled, and who is figured as a serpent, is doubtless the Tak, the ancient foe of the Yadus, who slew Janmejaya, emperor of the Pandus.

god, that he desired to dwell there. This circumstance occurred at an inconsiderable village called Siarh, in the fief of Dailwara, one of the sixteen nobles of Mewar. Rejoiced at this decided manifestation of favour, the chief hastened to make a perpetual gift of the village and its lands, which was speedily confirmed by the patent of the Rana.* Nathji (*the* god) was removed from his car, and in due time a temple was erected for his reception, when the hamlet of Siarh became the town of Nathdwara, which now contains many thousand inhabitants of all denominations, who, reposing under the especial protection of the god, are exempt from every mortal tribunal. The site is not uninteresting, nor devoid of the means of defence. To the east it is shut in by a cluster of hills, and to the westward flows the Bunas, which nearly bathes the extreme points of the hills. Within these bounds is the sanctuary (*sirna*) of Kaniya, where the criminal is free from pursuit; nor dare the rod of justice appear on the mount, or the foot of pursuer pass the stream; neither within it can blood be spilt, for the pastoral Kaniya delights not in offerings of this kind. The territory contains within its precincts abundant space for the town, the temple, and the establishments of the priests, as well as for the numerous resident worshippers, and the constant influx of votaries from the most distant regions,

"From Samarcand, by Oxus, Temir's throne,
"Down to the golden Chersonese,"

who find abundant shelter from the noontide blaze in the groves of tamarind, peepul, and semul,† where they listen to the mystic hymns of Jayadeva. Here those whom ambition has cloyed, superstition unsettled, satiety disgusted, commerce ruined, or crime disquieted, may be found as ascetic attendants on the mildest of the gods of India. Determined upon renouncing the world, they first renounce the ties that bind them to it, whether family, friends, or fortune, and placing their wealth at the disposal of the deity, stipulate only for portion of the food dressed for him, and to be permitted to prostrate themselves before him till their allotted time is expired. Here no bloodstained sacrifice scares the timid devotee; no austerities terrify, or tedious ceremonies fatigue him; he is taught to cherish the hope that he has only to ask for mercy in order to obtain it; and to believe that the compassionate deity who guarded the lapwing's nest‡ in the midst of myriads of combatants, who

* See *Appendix* to this Part, No. VIII,

† The cotton tree, which grows to an immense height.

‡ Whoever has unhooded the falcon at a lapwing, or even scared one from her nest, need not be told of its peculiarly distressing scream, as if

gave beatitude to the courtesan* who as the wall crushed her pronounced the name of "Rama," will not withhold it from him who has quitted the world and its allurements that he may live only in his presence, be fed by the food prepared for himself, and yield up his last s'gh invoking the name of Hari. There have been two hundred individuals at a time, many of whom, stipulating merely for food, raiment, and funeral rites, have abandoned all to pass their days in devotion at the shrine: men of every condition, Rajpoot, merchant, and mechanic and where sincerity of devotion is the sole expiation, and gifts outweigh penance, they must feel the road smooth to the heaven of hope.

The dead stock of Krishna's shrine is augmented chiefly by those, who hold life "unstable as the dew-drop on the lotus; and who are happy to barter "the wealth of Ormuz and c Ind" for the intercessional prayers of the high-priest, and hi passport to *Hari-pur*, the heaven of Hari. From the banks c the Indus to the mouths of the Ganges, from the coasts of th Peninsula to the shores of the Red Sea, the gifts of gratitude or c fear are lavishly poured in: and though the unsettled aspect c the last half century curtailed the transmission of more bulky but least valuable benefactions, it less affected the bills of ex

appealing to sympathy. The allusion here is to the lapwing scared from her nest, as the rival armies of the Curus and Pandus joined in battle when the compassionate Krishna, taking from an elephant's neck a war bell (*vira ghunta*), covered the nest, in order to protect it. When the majority of the feudal nobles of Marwar became exiled, to avoid the almost demoniac fury of their sovereign, since alliance with the British government, Anar Sing, the chief of Ahore, one specimen of the Rahtore Rajpoot, brave, intelligent, and amiable, was one day lamenting that while all India was enjoying tranquillity under the shield of Britain they alone were suffering from the caprice of a tyrant: concluding a powerful appeal to my personal interposition with the foregoing allegory and observing on the beauty of the office of mediator: "You are all powerful," added he and we may be of little account in the grand scale of affairs but Krishna condescended to protect even the lapwing's egg in the midst of battle." This brave man knew my anxiety to make their peace with their sovereign, and being acquainted with the allegory, I replied with some fervour, in the same strain, "Would to God, Thakoor Sahib, I had the *vira-ghunta* to protect you." The effect was instantaneous, and the eye of this manly chieftain, who had often fearlessly encountered the foe in battle, filled with tears as, holding out his hand, he said, "At least you listen to our griefs, and speak the language of friendship. Say but the word, and you may command the services of twenty thousand Rahtores. There is, indeed, no human being more susceptible of excitement, and under it, of being led to any desperate purpose, whether for good or for evil than the Rajpoot.

* Chund, the bard, gives this instance of the compassionate nature of Krishna taken, as well as the former, from the *Mahabahart*.

change from the successful sons of commerce, or the legacies of the dead. The safe arrival of a galleon from Sofala or Arabia produced as much to the shrine as to the insurance office, for Kaniya is the Saint Nicholas of the Hindu navigator, as was Apollo to the Grecian and Celtic sailors, who purchased the charmed arrows of the god to calm the troubled sea.* A storm accordingly yields in proportion to its violence, or to the nerve of the owner of the vessel. The appearance of a long-denied heir might deprive him of half his patrimony, and force him to lament his parent's distrust in natural causes; while the accidental mistake of touching forbidden food on particular fasts requires expiation, not by flagellation, or seclusion, but by the penance of the purse.

There is no donation too great or too trifling for the acceptance of Krishna, from the baronial estate to a patch of meadowland; from the gemmed coronet to adorn his image, to the widow's mite; nor, as before observed, is there a principality in India which does not diminish its fisc to add to his revenues. What effect the milder rites of the shepherd-god has produced on the adorers of Siva we know not, but assuredly Eklinga, the tutelar divinity of Mevar, has to complain of being defrauded of half his dues since Kaniya transferred his abode from the Yamuna to the Bnas; for the revenues assigned to Kaniya, who under the epithet of "Yellow mantle," has a distinguished niche in the domestic chapel of the Rana, far exceed those of the Avenger. The grants or

* Near the town of Avranches, on the coast of Normandy, is a rock called Mont St. Michel, in ancient times sacred to the Gallic or Celtic Apollo, or Belenus; a name which the author from whom we quote observes, "certainly came from the East, and proves that the littoral provinces of Gaul were visited by the Phœnicians."—"A college of Druidical priestesses was established there, who sold to seafaring men certain arrows endowed with the peculiar virtue of allaying storms, if shot into the waves by a young mariner. Upon the vessel arriving safe, the young archer was sent by the crew to offer thanks and rewards to the priestesses. His presents were accepted in the most graceful manner; and at his departure the fair priestesses, who had received his embraces, presented to him a number of shells, which afterwards he never failed to use in adorning his person."—*Tour throughs France.*

When the early Christian warrior consecrated this mount to his protector St. Michel, its name was changed from *Mons Jovis* (being dedicated to Jupiter), to *Tumb* (supposed from *tumulus*, a mound); but as the Saxons and Celts placed pillars on all these mounts, dedicated to the Sun-god Belenus, Bal or Apollo, it is not unlikely that *Tumba* is from the Sanskrit *thumba* or *sthumba*, 'a pillar.'

patents of *Hindupati*,* defining the privileges and immunities of the shrine, are curious documents.†

The extension of the sanctuary beyond the vicinage of the shrine became a subject of much animadversion; and in delegating judicial authority over the whole of the villages in the grant to the priests, the Rana committed the temporal welfare of his subjects to a class of men not apt to be lenient in the collection of their dues, which not unfrequently led to bloodshed. In alienating the other royalties, especially the transit duties, he was censured even by the zealots. Yet however important such concessions, they were of subordinate value to the rights of sanctuary, which were extended to the whole of the towns in the grant, thereby multiplying the places of refuge for crime, already too numerous.

In all ages and countries the rights of sanctuary have been admitted, and however they may be abused, their institution sprung from humane motives. To check the impulse of revenge and to shelter the weak from oppression are noble objects, and the surest test of a nation's independence is the extent to which they are carried. From the remotest times *sirna* has been the most valued privilege of Rajpoots, the lowest of whom deems his house a refuge against the most powerful. But we merely propose to discuss the sanctuary of holy places, and more immediately that of the shrine of Kaniya. When Moses, after the Exodus, made a division of the lands of Canaan amongst the Israelites, and appointed "six cities to be the refuge of him who had slain unwittingly, from the avenger of blood,"‡ the intention was not to afford facilities for eluding justice, but to check the hasty impulse of revenge; for the slayer was only to be protected "until he stood before the congregation for judgment, or until the death of the high priest," which event appears to have been considered as the termination of revenge.§ The infraction of political sanctuary (*sirna toorna*) often gives rise to the most inveterate feuds; and its abuse by the priests is highly prejudicial to society. Moses appointed but six cities of

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* *Hindupati*, vulgo *Hinduput*, 'chief of the Hindu race,' is a title justly appertaining to the Ranas of Mewar. It has, however, been assumed by chieftains scarcely superior to some of his vassals, though with some degree of pretension by Sevaji, who, had he been spared, might have worked the redemption of his nation, and of the Rana's house, from which he sprung.

† See *Appendix* to this paper, Nos. IX. and X.

‡ Numbers, chap. xxxv. v. 11, 12.

§ Numbers, chap. xxxv. v. 25, and Joshua, chap. xx. v. 6. There was an ancient law of Athens analogous to the Mosaic, by which he who

refuge to the whole Levite tribe ; but the Rana has assigned more to one shrine than the entire possessions of that branch of the Israelites, who had but forty-two cities, while Kaniya has forty-six. The motive of sanctuary in Rajasthan may have been originally the same as that of the divine legislator ; but the privilege has been abused, and the most notorious criminals deem the temple their best safeguard. Yet some princes have been found hardy enough to violate, though indirectly, the sacred *sirna*. Zalim Sing of Kotah, a zealot in all the observances of religion, had the boldness to draw the line when selfish priestcraft interfered with his police ; and though he would not demand the culprit, or sacrilegiously drag him from the altar, he has forced him thence by prohibiting the admission of food, and threatening to build up the door of the temple. It was thus the Greeks evaded the laws, and compelled the criminal's surrender by kindling fires around the sanctuary. The towns of Kaniya did not often abuse their privilege ; but the author once had to interpose, where a priest of Eklinga gave asylum to a felon who had committed murder within the bounds of his domain of Pahona. As this town, of eight thousand rupees annual revenue belonging to the fisc, had been gained by a forged charter, the author was glad to seize on the occasion to recommend its resumption, though he thereby incurred the penalty for seizing church land, namely, "*sixty thousand years in hell.*" The unusual occurrence created a sensation, but it was so indisputably just that not a voice was raised in opposition.

Let us revert to the endowments of Nathdwara. Herodotus furnishes a powerful instance of the estimation in which sacred offerings were held by the nations of antiquity. He observes that these were transmitted from the remotest nations of Scythia to Delos in Greece ; a range far less extensive than the offerings to the Dewul of Apollo in Mewar. The spices of the isles of the Indian archipelago ; the balmy spoils of Araby the blest ; the nard or frankincense of Tartary ; the raisins and pistachios of Persia ; every variety of saccharine preparation,

committed "*chance-medley*," should fly the country for a year, during which his relatives made satisfaction to the relatives of the deceased. The Greeks had *asyla* for every description of criminals, which could not be violated without infamy. Gibbon gives a memorable instance of disregard to the sanctuary of St. Julian in Auvergne, by the soldiers of the Frank king, Theodorica, who divided the spoils of the altar, and made the priests captives : an impiety not only unsanctioned by the son of Clovis, but punished by the death of the offenders, the restoration of the plunder, and the extension of the right of sanctuary five miles around the sepulchre of the holy martyr.

from the *sacar-cand* (sugar-candy) of the celestial empire, with which the god sweetens his evening repast, to that more common sort which enters into the *peras* of Mathura, the food of his infancy; the shawls of Cashmir, the silks of Bengal, the scarfs of Benares, the brocades of Guzerat

"———————the flower and choice
"Of many provinces from bound to bound,"

all contribute to enrich the shrine of Nathdwara. But it is with the votaries of the maritime provinces of India that he has most reason to be satisfied; in the commercial cities of Surat, Cambay, Muscatmandavi, &c. &c., where the Mookhias, or comptrollers deputed by the high-priest, reside, to collect the benefactions, and transmit them as occasion requires. A deputy resides on the part of the high-priest at Mooltan, who invests the distant worshippers with the initiative cordon and necklace. Even from Samarcand the pilgrims repair with their offerings; and a sum, seldom less than ten thousand rupees, is annually transmitted by the votaries from the Arabian ports of Muscat, Mocha, and Jidda; which contribution is probably augmented not only by the votaries who dwell at the mouths of the Wolga,*

* Pallas gives an admirable, and evidently faithful, account of the worship of Krishna and other Hindu divinities in the city of Astracan, where a Hindu mercantile colony is established. They are termed *Mooltani*, from the place whence they migrated—Mooltan, near the Indus. This class of merchants of the Hindu faith is disseminated over all the countries, from the Indus to the Caspian: and it would have been interesting had the professor given us any account of their period of settlement on the western shore of the Caspian sea. In costume and feature, as represented in the plate given by that author, they have nothing to denote their origin; though their divinities might be seated on any altar on the Ganges. The Mooltanis of Indeskoi Devor, or '*Indian court*,' at Astracan, have erected a pantheon, in which Krishna, the god of all Vishnue merchants, is seated in front of Juggernath, Rama, and his brothers, who stand in the back ground; while Siva and his consort Ashta-bhooja '*the eight-armed*,' form an intermediate line, in which is also placed a statue which Pallas denominates *Moorli*; but Pallas mistook the flute (*moorali*) of the divine Krishna for a rod. The principal figure we shall describe in his own words. "In the middle was placed a small idol with a very high bonnet, called *Gupaledshi*. At its right there was a large black stone, and on the left two smaller ones of the same colour, brought from the Ganges, and regarded by the Hindus as sacred. These fossils were of the species called *Sankara*, and appeared to be an impression of a bivalve muscle." Minute as is the description, our judgment is further aided by the plate. *Gupaledshi* is evidently Gopalji, the pastoral deity of Vrij (from *gao*, a cow, and *pali*, a herdsman). The head-dress worn by him and all the others, is precisely that still worn by Krishna, in the sacred dance at Muttra: and so minute is the delineation, that even the *pera* or sugar-ball is represented, although the professor appears to have been ignorant of its use, as he does not name it. He has likewise omitted to notice the representation of the sacred mount of Girdhana,

but by the *Samoyede** of Siberia. There is not a petty retailer professing the Vishnu creed, who does not carry a tythe of his trade to the stores: and thus caravans of thirty and forty cars, double-yoked, pass twice or thrice annually by the upper road to Nathdwara. These pious bounties are not allowed to moulder in the *bindars*: the apparel is distributed with a liberal hand as the gift of the deity to those who evince their devotion; and the edibles enter daily into the various food prepared at the shrine.

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which separates him from the Hindu Jove and the turreted Cybele (Doorga), his consort. The black stones are the *Saligramas*, worshipped by all *Vishnues*. In the names of "Nhandigana and Gori," though the first is called a lion saddled, and the other a male divinity, we easily recognize Nandi, the bull-*attendant* (*Gana*) of Siva and his consort Gouri. Were all travellers to describe what they see with the same accuracy as Pallas, they would confer important obligations on society, and might defy criticism.

It is with heartfelt satisfaction I have to record, from the authority of a gentleman who has dwelt amongst the *Hindikis* of Astracan, that distance from their ancient abodes has hot deteriorated their character for uprightness. Mr. Mitchell, from whose knowledge of Oriental languages the Royal Asiatic society will some day derive benefit, says that the reputation of these Hindu colonists, of whom there are about five hundred families, stands very high, and that they bear a preference over all the merchants of other nations settled in this great commercial city.

* Other travellers besides Pallas have described Hinduism as existing in the remote parts of the Russian empire, and if nominal resemblances may be admitted, we would instance the strong analogy between the *Samoyedes* and *Tehoudes* of Siberia and Finland, and the *Sama Yadus* and *Joudes* of India. The languages of the two former races are said to have a strong affinity, and are classed as *Hindu-Germanic* by M. Klaproth, on whose learned work, "*Asia polyglotta*," M. Remusat has given the world an interesting *critique*, in his *Melanges Asiatiques* (tom. i. p. 267), in which he traces these tribes to Central Asia; thus approaching the land of the *Gete* or *Yuti*. Now the *Yutis* and *Yadus* have much in their early history to warrant the assertion of more than nominal analogy. The annals of the *Yadus* of Jessulmeer state, that long anterior to Vicrama they held dominion from Guzni to Samarcand: that they established themselves in those regions after the Mahabharat, or great war; and were again impelled, on the rise of Islamism, within the Indus. As *Yadus* of the race of Sham or Sam (a title of Krishna), they would be *Sama-Yadus*; in like manner as the *Bhatti* tribe are called *Shamanatti*, the *Ashambetti* of Abulfuzil. The race of *Joude* was existing near the Indus in the Emperor Baber's time, who describes them as occupying the mountanous range in the first Do-ab, the very spot mentioned in the annals of the *Yadus* as their place of halt, on quitting India twelve centuries before Christ, and thence called *Jadu* or *Yadu-ca-dang*, the 'hills of *Jadu* or *Yadu*.' The peopling of all these regions, from the Indus to remote Tartary, is attributed to the race of *Ayu* or *Indu*, both signifying the moon, of which are the *Huyas*, *Aswas* (*Asi*), *Yadus*, &c., who spread a common language over all Western Asia. Amongst the few words of *Hindu-Germanic* origin which M. Remusat gives to prove affinity between the Finnish and Samoyede languages is "*Micl*, *Mod*, dans le dialecte

It has been remarked by the celebrated Goguet,* that the custom of offering food to the object of divine homage had its origin in a principle of gratitude, the repast being deemed hallowed by presenting the first portion to him who gave it, since the devotee was unable to conceive aught more acceptable than that whereby life is sustained. From the earliest period such offerings have been tendered; and in the burnt-offering (*hom*) of Abel, of the firstling of the flock, and the first portion of the repast presented by the Rajpoot to Anadeva† '*the nourisher*,' the motive is the same. But the *pursad* (such is the denomination of the food sacred to Kaniya) is deemed unlucky, if not unholy; a prejudice arising from the heterogeneous sources whence it is supplied—often from bequests of the dead. The Mookhias of the temple accordingly carry the sacred food to wheresoever the votaries dwell, which proves an irresistible stimulus to backward zeal, and produces an ample return. At the same time are transmitted, as from the god, dresses of honour corresponding in material and value with the rank of the receiver: a diadem, or fillet of satin and gold, embroidered; a *dugla*, or quilted coat of gold or silver brocade for the cold weather; a scarf of blue and gold: or if to one who prizes the gift less for its intrinsic worth than as a mark of special favour, a fragment of the garland worn on some festival by the god; or a simple necklace, by which he is inaugurated amongst the elect.‡

It has been mentioned that the lands of Mewar appropriated to the shrine are equal in value to a baronial appanage, and as before observed, there is not a principality in India which dose not assign a portion of its domain or revenue to this object. The Hara princes of Kotah and Boondi are almost exclusive worshippers of Kaniya, and the regent Zalim Sing is devoted to the maintenance of the dignity of the establishment. Every thing at Kotah appertains to Kaniya. The prince has but the usufruct of the palace, for which £12,000 are annually transmitted to the shrine. The grand lake east of the town, with all its finny tenants, is under his especial protection §; and

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Caucasien, et *Med*, en Slave," and which, as well as *mead*, the drink of the Scandinavian warrior, is from the Sanskrit *Madhu*, a bee. Hence intoxicating beverage is termed *Madhva*, which supplies another epithet for Krishna, *Madhu* or *Madhava*.

* "*Origin of Laws and Government.*"

† Literally "the giver of food."

‡ *Kaniya ca canti bhandhana*, "to bind on [the neck] the chaplet of Kaniya," is the initiatory step.

§ I had one day thrown my net into this lake, which abounded with a variety of fish, when my pastime was interrupted by a message from

the extensive suburb adjoining, with its rents, lands, and transit duties, all belong to the god. Zalim Sing, moreover, transmits to the high priest the most valuable shawls, broadcloths, and horses; and throughout the long period of predatory warfare he maintained two Neshans* of a hundred firelocks each, for the protection of the temple. His favourite son also, a child of love, is called Gordhun-das, the 'slave of Gordhun,' one of the many titles of Kaniya. The prince of Marwar went mad from the murder of the high priest of Jalindra, the epithet given to Kaniya in that estate; and the Raja of Sheopur,† the last of the Gores, lost his sovereignty by abandoning the worship of Hur, for that of Hari. The *'slave'* of Radha ‡ (such was the name of this prince) almost lived in the temple, and used to dance before the statue. Had he upheld the rights of him who wields the trident, the tutelary deity of his capital, Siva-pur, instead of the unwarlike divinity whose unpropitious title of Rinchor should never be borne by the martial Rajpoot, his fall would have been more dignified, though it could not have been retarded when the overwhelming torrent of the Mahrattas under Sindhia swept Rajwarrah.§

A distinction is made between the grants to the temple and those for the personal use of the pontiff, who at least affects never to apply any portion of the former to his own use, and he can scarcely have occasion to do so; but when from the stores of Apollo could be purchased the spices of the isles, the fruits of Persia, and the brocades of Guzerat, we may indulge our scepticism in questioning this forbearance: but the abuse has been rectified, and traffic banished from the temple. The personal grant (Appendix, No. XI.) to the high priest ought alone to have sufficed for his household expenditure, being twenty thousand rupees per annum, equal to £10,000 in Europe. But the ten

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the regent, Zalim Sing: "Tell Captain Tod that Katah and all around it are at his disposal; but these fish "belong to Kaniya." I of course immediately desisted, and the fish were returned to the safeguard of the deity.

* A Neshan, or standard, is synonimous with a company.

† Sheopur or Siva-pur, the city of Sheo or Siva, the god of war, whose battle-shout is *Hur*; and hence one of his epithets, as Hari is that of Krishna or Kaniya.

‡ Radha was the name of the chief of the *Gopis* or nymphs of Vrij, and the beloved of Kaniya.

§ In October 1807, I rambled through all these countries, then scarcely known by name to us. At that time Sheopur was independent, and its prince treated me with the greatest hospitality. In 1809, I witnessed its fall, when following with the embassy in the train of the Mahratta leader.

thousand towns of Mewar, from each of which he levied a crown, now exist only in the old rent-roll, and the heralds of Apollo would in vain attempt to collect their tribute from two thousand villages.

The Appendix No. XII., being a grant of privileges to a minor shrine of Kaniya, in his character of *murali* or 'flute-player,' contains much information on the minutiæ of benefactions, and will afford a good idea of the nature of these revenues.

The predominance of the mild doctrines of Kaniya over the dark rites of Siva, is doubtless beneficial to Rajpoot society. Were the prevention of fenale immolation the sole good resulting from their prevalence, that alone would conciliate our partiality; a real worshipper of Vishnu should forbid his wife following him to the pyre, as did recently the Boondi prince. In fact, their tenderness to animal life is carried to nearly as great ar excess as with the Jains, who shed no blood. Celibacy is not imposed upon the priests of Kaniya, as upon those of Siva: on the contrary, they are enjoined to marry, and the priestly office is hereditary by descent. Their wives do not burn, but are committed, like themselves, to the earth. They inculcate tenderness towards all beings; though whether this feeling influences the mass, must depend on the soil which receives the seed, for the outward ceremonies of religion cost far less effort than the practice of essentials. I have often smiled at the incessant aspirations of the Macchiavelli of Rajasthan, Zalim Sing, who, while he ejaculated the name of the god as he told his beads, was inwardly absorbed by mundane affairs; and when one word would have prevented a civil war, and saved his reputation from the stain of disloyalty to his prince, he was, to use his own words, "at fourscore years and upwards, laying the foundation for another century of life." And thus it is with the prince of Marwar, who esteems the life of a man or a goat of equal value when prompted by revenge to take it. Hope may silence the reproaches of conscience, and gifts and ceremonies may be deemed atonement for a deviation from the first principle of their religion—a benevolence which should comprehend every animated thing. But fortunately the princely worshippers of Kaniya are few in number: it is to the sons of commerce we must look for the effects of these doctrines; and it is my pride and duty to declare that I have known men of both sects, Vishnue and Jain, whose integrity was spotless, and whose philanthropy was unbounded.

CHAPTER XX.

The origin of Kaniya or Krishna.—Sources of a plurality of gods among the Hindu.—Allegories respecting Krishna elucidated.—Songs of Jayadeva celebrating the loves of Kaniya.—The Rasmandel, a mystic dance—Girdhana—Krishna anciently worshipped in caves.—His conquest of the 'Black Serpent' allegorical of the contests between the Buddists and Vishnues—Analogies between the legends of Krisna and Western mythology.—Festivals of Krishna.—Pilgrimage to Nathdwara.—The seven gods of that temple—its pontiff.

Hari, Krishna, familiarly Kaniya, was of the celebrated tribe of Yadu, the founder of the fifty-six tribes* who obtained the universal sovereignty of India, and descended from Yayati, the third son† of Swayambhuva Manu,‡ or "The man, Lord of the earth," whose daughter Ella§ (*Terra*) was espoused by Budha (*Mercury*), son of Chandra‖ (*the moon*), whence the Yadus are styled Chandra-vansi, or "children of the moon." Budha was therefore worshipped as the great ancestor (*Pitriswara*) of the lunar race: and previous to the apotheosis of Krishna, was adored by all the Yadu race. The principal shrine of Budha was at Dwarica, where he still receives adoration as Budha Trivicrama.¶ Kaniya lived towards the conclusion of the brazen age, calculated to have been about 1100 to 1200 years before Christ.** He was born to

* *Chappun cula Yadu.*

† *Qu.* Japhet.

‡ Also called *Vaiva-swata Manu*—'the man, son of the sun.'

§ Ella, the earth—the Saxon *Ertha.* The Germans chiefly worshipped Tuisco or Teutates and Ertha, who are the Buddha and Ella of the Rajpoots.

‖ A male divinity with the Rajpoots, the Tatars, and ancient Germans.

¶ 'Triple Energy,' the *Hermes Triplex* of the Egyptians.

** I shall here subjoin an extract of the rise and progress of Vishnuism as written at my desire by the Mukhia of the temple:

"Twenty-five years of the *Dwapur* (the brazen age) were yet unexpired, when the incarnation (*avatar*) of Sri Krishna took place. Of these, eleven were passed at Gokul, (*a*) and fourteen at Mathura. There he used to manifest himself personally, especially at Goverdhun. But when the *Kaliyug* (the iron age) commenced, he retired to Dwarica, an island separated by the ocean from Bharatkhund, (*b*) where he passed a

(*a*) A small town and island in the Jumna, below Mathura. Hence one of Krishna's titles is Gokul Nath, 'Lord of Gokul.'

(*b*) The channel which separates the island of Dwarica from the main land is filled up except in spring tides. I passed it when it was

inheritance of Vrij, the country of the Suraseni, comprehending the territory round Mathura for a space of eighty miles, of which he was unjustly deprived in his infancy by his relative, Kansa. From its vicinity to Delhi we infer, either that there was no lord paramount amongst the Yadus of this period, or that Krishna's family held as vassals of Hastinapur, then, with Indraprastha or Delhi, the chief seat of Yadu power. There were two princes named Surasen amongst the immediate predecessors of Krishna: one, his grandfather, the other eight generations anterior. Which of these was the founder of Surapur on the Yamuna, the capital of the Yadus,* we know not, but we may assume that the first gave his name to the region around Mathura, described by Arrian as the country of the Suraseni. Alexander was in India probably about eight centuries after the deification of Krishna, and it is satisfactory to find that the inquiries he instituted into the genealogy of the dynasty then ruling on the Yamuna correspond very closely with those of the Yadus of this distant period; and combined with what Arrian says of the origin of the Pandus, it appears indisputable that the descendants of this powerful branch of the Yadus ruled on the Yamuna when the Macedonian erected the altars of Greece on the Indus. That the personage whose epithets of Krishna-Sham designate his colour

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hundred years before he went to heaven. In Samvat 937 (A. D. 881) God decreed that the Hindu faith should be overturned, and that the Turishka (*c*) should rule. Then the *Jezeya*, or capitation-tax, was inflicted on the head of the Hindu. There faith also suffered much from the Jains and the various infidel (*asùra*) sects which abounded. The Jains were so hostile, that Bramha manifested himself in the shape of Sancara Acharya who destroyed them and their religion at Benares. In Guzerat, by their magic, they made the moon appear at Amavus (*d*). Sancara foretold to its prince, Sid Raj, (*e*) the flood then approaching, who escaped in a boat and fled to Thoda, on which occasion all the Vedyas (*f*) (magicians) in that country perished."

* For an account of the discovery of the remains of this ancient city, see *Trasact, of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 314.

(*c*) We possess no record of the invasion of India in A. D. 881, by the Turki tribes, half a century after Mahmud's expedition from Zabulisthan against Cheetore, in the reign of Rawul Khoman.

(*d*) The ides of the month, when the moon is obscured.

(*e*) He ruled Samvat 1151 (A. D. 1095) to S. 1201 (A. D. 1145).

(*f*) Still used as a term of reproach to the Jains and Buddhists, in which, and other points, as *Ari* (the foe, qu. *Aria*?) they bear a strong resemblance to the followers of the Arian Zerdusht, or Zoroaster. Amongst the other peculiarities, the ancient Persian fire-worshipper, like the present Jain, placed a bandage over the mouth while worshipping.

as '*the Black Prince*,' was in fact a distinguished chief of the Yadus, there is not a shadow of doubt; nor that, at his death, they placed him among the gods as an incarnation of Vishnu or the Sun; and from this period we may date the Hindu notion of their Trinity. Arrian enumerates the names of *Budæus* and *Crideras* amongst the early ancestors of the tribe then in power, which would alone convince us that Alexander had access to the genealogies of the *Puranas*; for we can have little hesitation in affirming these to be Budha and Crishtdeva, ancestors of Krishna; and that "Mathoras and Clisobaras, the chief cities of the Suraseni," are the Mathura and Surpur occupied by the descendants of Sursen. Had Arrian afforded as many hints for discussing the analogy between the Hindu and Grecian Apollos as he has for the Hercules of Thebes and India, we might have come to a conclusion that the three chief divinities* of Egypt, Greece, and India, had their altars first erected on the Indus, Ganges, and Jumna.

The earliest objects of adoration in these regions were the sun and moon, whose names designated the two grand races, Surya, and Chandra or Indu. Budha, son of Indu, married Ella, a grand-child of Surya, from which union sprung the Indu race. They deified their ancestor Budha, who continued to be the chief object of adoration until Krishna: hence the worship of Bal-nath† and Budha ‡ were coeval. That the Nomadic tribes of Arabia, as well as those of Tartary and India, adored the same objects, we learn from the earliest writers; and Job, the probable contemporary of Hasti, the founder of the first capital of the Yadus on the Ganges, boasts in the midst of his griefs that he had always remained uncorrupted by the Sabeism which surrounded him. "If I beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness, and my mouth has kissed my hand, this also were an iniquity to be punished by the judge, for I should have denied the God that is above."§ That there were many Hindus who, professing a pure monotheism like Job, never kissed the hand either to Surya or his herald Budha, we may easily credit from the sublimity of the notions of the 'One God,' expressed both by the ancients and moderns, by poets and by princes of both races;‖ but more especially by the

* Hercules, Mercury, and Apollo; *Bala-ram*, *Budha*, and *Kanaya*.
† The 'God Bal,' the Vivifier, the Sun.
‡ Budha signifies 'wisdom.'
§ Job, ch. xxxi., v. 16, 27, 28.
‖ Chund, the bard, after having separately invoked the three persons

sons of Budha, who for ages bowed not before graven images, and deemed it impious to raise a temple to

"The Spirit in whose honour shrines are weak."

Hence the Jains, the chief sect of the Budhists, (so called from adoring the spirit (Jin,) were untinctured with idolatry until the apotheosis of Krishna,* whose mysteries superseded the simpler worship of Budha. Neminath (*The deified Nemi*) was the pontiff of Budha, and not only the contemporary of Krishna, but a Yadu, and his near relation; and both had epithets denoting their complexion; for *Arishta*, the surname of Nemi, has the same import as Sham or Krishna, '*the black*,' though the latter is of a less Ethiopic hue than Nemi. It was anterior to this schism amongst the sons of Budha that the creative power was degraded under sensual forms, when the pillar rose to Bal or Surya in Syria and on the Ganges: and the serpent, "subtlest beast of all the field," worshipped as the emblem of wisdom (Budha), was conjoined with the symbol of the creative power, as at the shrine of Eklinga, where the brazen serpent is wreathed round the lingam.† Budha's descendants, the Indus, preserved the Ophite sign‡ of their race, when Krishna's followers adopted the eagle as his symbol. These, with the adorers of Surya, form the three idolatrous classes of India, not confined to its modern restricted definition, but that of antiquity, when Industhan or Indu-Scythia, extended

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of the Hindu triad, says, that he who believes them distinct, "hell will be his portion."

* A very curious cause was assigned by an eminent Jain priest for the innovation of enshrining and worshipping the forms of the twenty-four pontiffs: *viz.* that the worship of Kaniya, before and after the apotheosis, became quite a rage amongst the women, who crowded his shrines, drawing after them all the youth of the Jains; and that, in consequence, they made a statue of Nemi to counteract a fervour that threatened the existence of their faith. It is seldom we are furnished with such rational reasons for religious changes.

† It was the serpent (Budha) who ravished Ella, daughter of Ieshwacu, the son of Manu, whence the distinctive epithet of his descendants in the East, *Manus*, or men, the very tradition on an ancient sculptured column in the south of India, which evidently points to the primeval mystery. In Portici there is an exact *lingam* entwined with a brazen serpent, brought from the temple of Isis at Pompeii: and many of the same kind, in mosaic decorate the floors of the dwelling-houses. But the most singular coincidence is in the wreaths of *lingams* and the *yoni* over the door of the minor temple of Isis at Pompeii; while on another front is painted the rape of Venus by Mercury (Budha and Ella.) The luner race, according to the *Puranas*, are the issue of the rape of Ella by Budha.

‡ *Aphah* is a serpent in Hebrew. *Ahi* and *Serp* are two of its many appellations in Sanskrit.

from the Ganges to the Caspian. In support of the position that the existing polytheism was unknown on the rise of Vishnuism, we may state, that in none of the ancient genealogies do the names of such deities appear as proper names in society, a practice now common; and it is even recorded that the rites of magic, the worship of the host of heaven, and of idols, were introduced from Cashmere, between the periods of Krishna and Vicrama. The powers of nature were personified, and each quality, mental and physical, had its emblem, which the Brahmins taught the ignorant to adopt as realities, till the pantheon became so crowded that life would be too short to acquire even the nomenclature of their "thirty-three millions of gods."* No object was too high or too base, from the glorious Orb to the Rampi, or paring-knife of the shoemaker. In illustration of the increase of polytheism, I shall describe the seven forms under which Krishna is worshipped, whose statues are established in the various capitals of Rajasthan, and are occasionally brought together at the festival of Anacuta at Nathdwara.

The international wars of the Surya and the Yadu races, as described in the Ramayana and Mahabharat are lost between allegory and literal interpretation. The Suryas, or Saivas, were depressed; and the Indus, who counted "fifty-six" grand tribes, under the appellation of takshac '*serpent*,' aswa '*horse*,' sassu '*hare*,' &c. &c., had paramount sway. Krishna's schism produced a new type, that of eagle, and the wars of the schismatics were depicted under their respective emblems, the eagle and serpent, of which latter were the Curus and Takshacs,† the political adversaries of the Pandus the re-

* *Tettrees crore devota.*

† The *Mahabharat* records constant wars from *ancient times* amongst the children of *Surya* (the sun), and the *Tak* or *Takshac* (serpent) races. The horse of the sun, liberated preparatory to sacrifice, by the father of Rama, was seized by the *Takshac Anunta*; and Janmejya, king of Delhi, grandson of Pandu, was killed by one of the same race. In both instances the *Takshac* is literally rendered the *snake.*

The successor of Janmejya carried war into the seats of this *Tak* or serpent race, and is said to have sacrificed 20,000 of them in revenge; but although it is specifically stated that he subsequently compelled them to sign tributary engagements (*paenameh*), the Brahmins have nevertheless distorted a plain historical fact by a literal and puerile interpretation.

The *Parœtacæ* (*Mountain Tak*) of Alexander were doubtless of this race, as was his ally Taxiles which appellation was titular, as he was called Omphis till his father's death. It is even probable that this name is the Greek *ophis* (a snake) in which they recognized the tribe of the *Tak Snake.*

Taxiles may be compounded of *es*, 'lord or chief, *silla*,' 'rock or mountain Tak,' whose capital was in the range west of the Indus. We are indebted to the Emperor Baber for the exact position of the capital of

invented lyre of Apollo. Thus from the *six-wired* instrument of the Hindus we have the Greek *cithera*, the English *cithern*, and the Spanish *guitar* of modern days. The Greeks, following the Egyptians, had but six notes, with their lettered symbols; and it was reserved for the Italians to add a seventh. Guido Aretine, a monk in the thirteenth century, has the credit of this. I, however, believe the Hindus numbered their's from the heavenly bodies—the Sun, Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn,—hence they had the regular octave, with its semi-tones: and, as in the pruriency of their fancy, they converted the ascending and descending notes into *grahas*, or planetary bodies, so they may have added them to the harmonius numbers, and produced the *no-ragini*, their *nine* modes of music.* Could we affirm that the hymns composed and set to music, by Jaydeva, nearly three thousand years ago, and still chaunted in honour of the Apollo of Vrij, had been handed down with the sentiments of these mystic compositions (and Sir W. Jones sanctions the idea), we should say, from their simplicity, that the musicians of that age had only the dianotic scale; but, we have every reason to believe, from the very elaborate character of their written music, which is painful and discordant to the ear from its minuteness of subdivision, that they had also the chromatic scale, said to have been invented by Timotheus in the time of Alexander, who might have carried it from the banks of the Indus. In the mystic dance, the *Ras-mandala*, yet imitated on the annual festival sacred to the sun-god Hari, he is represented with a radiant crown in a dancing attitude, playing on the flute to the nymphs encircling him, each holding a musical instrument.

Asiatic, and sometimes applying to flutes the epithet of Phrygian. The names of certain instruments, such as the *nabla*, and others likewise, are taken from barbarous tongues." This *nabla* of Strabo possibly the *tabla*, the small tabor of India. If Strabo took his orthography from the Persian or Arabic, a single point would constitute the difference between the *N* (*Nu*) and the *T* (*Te*).

* An Account of the state of musical science amongst the Hindus of early ages, and comparison between it and that of Europe, is yet a desideratum in Oriental literature. From what we already know of the science, it appears to have attained a theoretical precision unknown to Europe, and that, at a period when even Greece was little removed from barbarism The inspirations of the bards of the first ages were all set to music; and the children of the most powerful potentates sang the episodes of the great epics of Valmiki and Vyasa. There is a distinguished member of the Royal Asiatic Society, and perhaps the only one, who could fill up this *hiatus*, and we may hope that the leisure and inclination of the Right Honourable Sir Gore Ousely will tempt him to enlighten us on this most interesting point.

"In song and dance, about the sacred hill;
"Mystical dance, which yonder starry sphere
"Of planets, and of fixed, in all her wheels
"Resembles nearest, mazes intricate,
"Eccentrick, intervolved, yet regular
"Then most, when most irregular they seem;
"And in their motions harmony divine
"So smooths her charming tones, that God's own ear
"Listens delighted." *Milton, Book V.* 156.

These nymphs are also called the *no-rayini*, from *raga*, a mode of song over which each presides, and *no-rasa*, or 'nine passions,' excited by the powers of harmony. May we not in this trace the origin of Apollo and the sacred nine? In the manner described above, the *ras-mandal* is typical of the zodiacal phenomena; and in each sign a musical nymph is sculptured in *alto-relievo*, in the vaulted temples dedicated to the god,* or in secular edifices by way of ornament, as in the triumphal column of Cheetore. On the festival of the 'Janem' or 'birth-day,' there is a scenic representation of Kaniya and the Gopis: when are rehearsed in the mellifluous accents of the Ionic land of Vrij, the songs of Jaydeva, as addressed by Kaniya to Radha and her companions. A specimen of these, as translated by the elegant scholar Sir W. Jones, may not be considered inappropriate here.

I have had occasion to remark elsewhere,† that the Rajpoot bards, like the heroic Scalds of the north, lose no opportunity of lauding themselves; of which Jaydeva, the bard of the Yadus, has set an eminent example in the opening of "the songs of Gobinda."

"If thy soul be delighted with the remembrance of Hari, or sensible to the raptures of love, listen to the voice of Jaydeva, whose notes are both sweet and brilliant."

The poet opens the first interview of Krishna and Radha with an animated description of a night in the rainy season, in which Hari is represented as a wanderer, and Radha, daughter of the shepherd Nanda, is sent to offer him shelter in their cot. Nanda thus speaks to Radha: "The firmament is obscured by clouds; the woodlands are black with Tamala trees, that youth who roves in the forest will be fearful in the gloom of night; go, my daughter, bring the wanderer to my

* I have often been struck with a characteristic analogy in the sculptures of the most ancient Saxon cathedrals in England and on the Continent, to Kaniya and the *Gopis*. Both may be intended to represent divine harmony. Did the Asi and Jits of Scandinavia, the ancestors of the Saxons, bring them from Asia?

† *Trans, Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 146.

rustic mansion.' Such was the command of Nanda the herdsman, and hence arose the love of Radha and Madhava."*

The poet proceeds to apostrophize Hari, which the Hindu bard terms *rupaca*, or 'personal description':

"Oh thou who reclinest on the bosom of Kamala, whose ears flame with gems, and whose locks are embellished with sylvan flowers; thou, from whom the day-star derived his effulgence who slewest the venom-breathing Kaliya, who beamest like a sun on the tribe of Yadu, that flourished like a lotus; thou, who sittest on the plumage of Garura, who sippest nectar from the radiant lips of Padma, as the flattering *chacora* drinks the moon-beams; be victorious, O Hari."

Jaydeva then introduces Hari in the society of the pastoral nymphs of Vrij, whom he groups with admirable skill, expressing the passion by which each is animated towards the youthful prince with great warmth and elegance of diction. But Radha, indignant that he should divide with them the affection she deemed exclusively her own, flies his presence. Hari, repentant and alarmed, now searches the forest for his beloved, giving vent at each step to impassioned grief. "Woe is me! she feels a sense of injured honour, and has departed in wrath. How will she conduct herself? How will she express her pain in so long a separation? What is wealth to me? What are numerous attendants? What the pleasures of the world? How can I invite thee to return? Grant me but a sight of thee, oh! lovely Radha, for my passion torments me. O God of love! mistake me not for Siva. Wound me not again. I love already but too passionately; yet have I lost my beloved. Brace not thy bow, thou conqueror of the world! My heart is already pierced by arrows from Radha's eyes black and keen as those of the antelope."

Radha relents and sends a damsel in quest of Hari, whom she finds in a solitary arbour on the banks of the Yamuna. She described her mistress as animated by the same despair which controls him:

"Her face is like a water-lily veiled in the dew of tears, and her eyes are as moons eclipsed. She draws thy picture and worships it, and at the close of every sentence exclaims, 'O Madhava, at thy feet am I fallen!' Then she figures thee standing before her: she sighs, she smiles, she mourns, she weeps. Her abode, the forest—herself, through thy absence, is become a timid roe, and love is the tiger who springs on her, like Yama, the genius of death. So emaciated is her beautiful body, that even the light garland which waves o'er her

* *Madhu* in the dialect of Vrij.

bosom is a load. The palm of her hand supports her aching temple, motionless as the crescent rising at eve. Thus, O divine healer, by the nectar of thy love must Radha be restored to health; and if thou refusest, thy heart must be harder than the thunder-stone."*

The damsel returns to Radha and reports the condition of Hari, mourning her absence: "Even the hum of the bee distracts him. Misery sits fixed in his heart, and every returning night adds anguish to anguish." She then recommends Radha to seek him. "Delay not, O, loveliest of women; follow the lord of thy heart. Having bound his locks with forest flowers he hastens to yon arbour, where a soft gale breathes over the banks of Yamuna, and there pronouncing thy name, *he modulates his divine reed.* Leave behind thee, O friend, the ring which tinkles on thy delicate ankle when thou sportest in the dance. Cast over thee thy azure mantle and run to the shady bower."

But Radha too weak to move, is thus reported to Hari by the same fair mediator. "She looks eagerly on all sides in hope of thy approach: she advances a few steps, and falls languid to the ground. She weaves bracelets of fresh leaves, and looking at herself in sport, exclaims, behold the vanquisher of Madhu! Then she repeats the name of Hari, and catching at a dark blue cloud,† strives to embrace it, saying, it is my beloved who approaches."

Midnight arrives, but neither Hari nor the damsel returns, when she gives herself up to the frenzy of despair, exclaiming: "The perfidy of my friend rends my heart. Bring disease and death, O Gale of Malaya! Receive me in thy azure wave, O sister of Yama,‡ that the ardour of my heart may be allayed."

The repentant Hari at length returns, and in speech well calculated to win forgiveness thus pleads his pardon.

"Oh! Grant me a draught of honey from the lotus of thy mouth: or if thou art inexorable, grant me death from the arrows of thine eyes; make thy arms my chains: thou art my ornaments; thou art the pearl in the ocean of my mortal birth! Thine eyes, which nature formed like blue water-lilies, are become through thy resentment like petals of the crimson lotus. Thy silence affects me; oh! speak with the voice of music, and let thy sweet accents allay my ardour."

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* We meet with various little philosphical phenomena used as similies in this rhapsody of Jaydeva. These *aerolites*, mentioned by a poet, the contemporary of David and Solomon, are but recently kwown to the European philosopher.

† This is, in allusion to the colour of Krishna, a dark blue.

‡ The Indian Pluto; she addressing the Yamuna.

"Radha with timid joy, darting her eyes on Govinda while she musically sounded the rings of her ankles and *the bells of her zone*,* entered the mystic bower of her beloved. His heart was agitated by her sight, as the waves of the deep are affected by the lunar orb.† From his graceful waist flowed a pale yellow robe,‡ which resembled the golden dust of the water-lily scattered over its blue petals.§ His locks interwoven with blossoms, like a cloud variegated by the moon-beam. Tears of transport gushed in a stream from the full eyes of Radha, and their watery glances beamed on her best beloved. Even shame, which had before taken its abode in their dark pupils, was itself ashamed,‖ and departed when the fawn-eyed Radha gazed on the bright face of Krishna."

The poet proceeds to describe Apollo's bower on the sable Yamuna, as "Love's recess," and sanctifies it as

——————"The ground
"Where early Love his Psyche's zone unbound."¶

In the morning the blue god aids in Radha's simple toilet. He stains her eye with antimony "which would make the blackest bee envious," places "a circle of musk on her forehead," and intertwines "a chaplet of flowers and peacocks's feathers in her dark tresses," replacing "the zone of golden bells." The bard concludes as he commenced, with an eulogium on the inspirations of his muse, which it is evident were set to music. "Whatever is delightful in the modes of music, whatever is graceful in the fine strains of poetry, whatever is exquisite in the sweet art of love, let the happy and wise learn from the songs of Jaydeva."

This mystic dance, the *ras-mandal*, appears analogous to the Pyhrric dance, or the *fire-dance* of the Egyptians. The movements of those who personate the deity and his fair companions are full of grace, and the dialogue is replete with

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* Thus the ancient statues do not present merely the sculptor's fancy in the zone of bells with which they are ornamented.

† This is a favourite metaphor with the bards of India, to describe the alternations of the exciting causes of love; and it is yet more important as shewing that Jaydeva was the philosopher as well as poet of nature, in making the action of the moon upon the tides the basis of this beautiful simile.

‡ This *yellow robe* or mantle furnishes another title of the Sun-god *viz. Pit-ambara*, typical of the replendence which precedes his rising and setting.

§ It will be again necessary to call to mind the colour of Krishna, to appreciate this elegant metaphor.

‖ This idea is quite new.

¶ Childe Harold, Canto III.

harmony.* The Chobis† of Mathura and Vrindavana have considerable reputation as vocalists; and the effect of the modulated and deep tones of the adult blending with the clear treble of the juvenile performers, while the time is marked by the cymbal or the soothing monotony of the tabor, accompanied occasionally by the *murali* or flute, is very pleasing.

We have a Parnassus in Girdhana, from which sacred hill the god derives one of his principal epithets, Girdhun or Gordhun-nath, '*God of the mount of wealth.*' Here he first gave proofs of miraculous power, and a cave in this hill was the first shrine, on his apotheosis, whence his miracles and oracles were made known to the Yadus. From this cave (*gopha*) is derived another of his titles—*Goph-nath*, 'Lord of the cave,' distinct from his epithet Gopinath, 'Lord of the Gopis' or pastoral nymphs. On the annual festivals held at Girdhana, the sacred mount is purified with copious oblations of milk, for which all the cows of the district are in requisition.

The worship of Krishna in ancient days like that of Apollo amongst the Greeks, was chiefly celebrated in caves, of whch there were many scattered over India. The most remarkable were those of Girdhana in Vrij; Gaya in Behar; Goph-nath on the shores of Saurashtra; and Jalindra‡ on the Indus. In these dark and mysterious retreats superstition had her full influencc over the votaries who sought the commands and depricated the wrath of the deity: but, as the Mookhia told the auther, "the age of oracles and miracles is past;" and the new wheel, which was miraculously furnished each revolving year to supply the place of that which first indicated his desire to abide at Nathdwara, is no longer forthcoming. The old one, which was the signal of his wish, is, however

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* The anniversary of the birth of Kaniya is celebrated with splendour at Sindhia's court, where the author frequently witnessed it, during a ten years' residence.

† The priests of Kaniya, probably so called from the *chob* or club with which, on the annual festival, they assault the castle of Kansa, the tyrant usurper of Krishna's birthright, who, like Herod, ordered the slaughter of all the youth of Vrij, that Krishna might not escape. These *Chobis* are most likely the *Sobii* of Alexander, who occupied the chief towns of the Punjab, and who, according to Arrian, worshipped Hercules (*Heri-cul-es*, chief of the race of Hari), and were armed with clubs. The mimic assault of Kansa's castle by some hundreds of these robust church militants, with their long clubs covered with iron rings, is well worth seeing.

‡ Jalindra on the Indus is described by the Emperor Baber as a very singular spot, having numerous caves. The deity of the caves of Jalindra is the tutelarly deity of the Prince of Marwar.

preserved as a relic, and greatly reverenced. The statue now worshipped at Nathdwara, as the representative of 'the god of the mount,' is said to be the identical image raised in the cave of Girdhana, and brought thence by the high-priest Balba.

As the destroyer of Kali-nag, 'the *Black* Serpent,' which infested the waters of the Yamuna, Kaniya has the character of the Pythic Apollo. He is represented dragging the monster from the 'black stream,' and bruising him with his foot. He had, however, many battles with his hydra-foe ere he vaquished him, and he was once driven by Kal-yamun from Vrij to Dwarica, whence his title of Rinchor. Here we have the old allegory of the schismatic wars of the Budhists and Vishnues.

Diodorus informs us that *Kan* was one of the titles of the Egyptian Apollo as the sun; and this is the common contraction for Kaniya, whose colour is a dark cerulean blue (*nila*); and hence his name Nila-nath, who, like the Apollo of the Nile, is depicted with the human form and eagle-head, with a lotus in his hand. S. and H. are permutable letters in the Bhakka, and Sam or Sham, the god of the Yamuna, may be the *Ham* or Hammon of Egypt. Hari accompanied Ramesa to Lanka, as did the Egyptian Apollo, Rameses-Sesostris, on his expedition to India; both were attended in their expedition by an army of Satyrs, or tribes bearing the names of different animals: and as we have the *Aswas*, the *Takshacs*, and the *Sassus* of the *Yudu* tribes, typified under the horse, the serpent, and the hare, so the races of *Surya*, of which Rama was the head may have been designated *Rishi* and *Hanuman*, or bears and monkeys. The distance of the Nile from the Indian shore forms no objection; the sail spread for Ceylon could waft the vessel to the Red Sea, which the fleets of Tyre, of Solomon, and Hiram covered about this very time. That the Hindus navigated the ocean from the earliest ages, the traces of their religion in the isles of the Indian archipelago sufficiently attest; but on this subject we have already said enough.

The coincidence between the most common epithets of the Apollos of Greece and India, as applied to the sun, are peculiarly striking. Hari, as Bhan-nath, 'the lord of beams, is Phœbus, and his heaven is *Haripur* (Heliopolis), or 'city of Hari.'* *Helios* was a title of Apollo, whence the Greeks had their Elysium, the Haripur of *Bhan-than* (the abode of the sun), the highest of the heavens or abodes of bliss of the martial Rajpoot. Hence the eagle (the emblem of Hari as the

* "In Hebrew *heres* signifies the sun, but in Arabic the meaning of the radical word is to guard, preserve; and of *haris*, guardian, preserver.' —*Volney's Ruins of Empires*, p. 316.

sun)* was adopted by the western warrior as the symbol of victory.

The *Dii Majores* of the Rajpoot are the same in number and title as amongst the Greeks and Romans, being the deities who figuratively preside over the planetary system. Their grades of bliss are therefore in unison with the eccentricity of orbit of the planet named. On this account Chandra or Indu, the moon, being a mere satellite of Ella, the earth, though probably originating the name of the *Indu* race, is inferior in the scale of blissful abodes to that of his son Budha or Mercury, whose heliacal appearance gave him importance even with the sons of Vaiva, the sun. From the poetic seers of the martial races we learn that there are two distinct places of reward ; the one essentially spiritual, the other of a material nature. The bard inculcates that the warrior who falls in battle in the fulfilment of his duty, "who abandons life through the wave of steel," will know no "second birth," but that the unconfined spark *(jote)* will re-unite to the parent orb. The doctrine of transmigration through a variety of hideous forms, may be considered as a series of purgatories.

The Greeks and Celts worshipped Apollo under the title of Carneios, which "selon le scholiaste de theocrite" is derived from Carnos, "qui ne prophetisoit que des malheurs aux Heraclides lors de leur incursion dans le Peloponnese.. Un deux appele *Hippotes, le tua dun coup de fleche.*" Now one of the titles of the Hindu Apollo is Carna, 'the radiant' from *carna*, 'a ray :' and when he led the remains of the *Hariculas* in company with Baldeva *(the god of strength)*, and Yudhishthira, after the great international war, into the Peloponnesus of Saurashtra, they were attacked by the aboriginal Bhills *one of whom slew the devine Carna with an arrow.* The Bhills claim to be of *Hayavansa*, or the race of *Hya*, whose chief seat was at Maheswar on the Nerbudda: the assassin of Carna would consequently be Hiputa, or *descendant of Hya.*†

* The heaven of *Vishnu*, *Vaicuntha*, is entirely of gold, and 80,000 miles in circumference. Its edifices, pillars, and ornaments, are composed of precious stones. The crystal waters of the Ganges form a river in Vaicuntha where are lakes filled with blue, red, and white water-lilies, each of a hundred and even a thousand petals. On a throne glorious as the meridian sun resting on water-lilies, is Vishnu, with Lakshmi or *Sri*, the goddess of abundance (the Ceres of the Egyptians and Greeks), on his right hand, surrounded by spirits who constantly celebrate the praise of Vishnu and Lakshmi, who are served by his votaries, and to whom the eagle (*garuda*) is door-keeper.—Extract from the *Mahabaharat*.—See Wart on the History and Religion of the Hindus, vol. ii. p. 14.

† Supposing these coincidences in the fabulous history of the ancient nations of Greece and Asia to be merely fortuitus, they must excite inter-

The most celebrated of the monuments commonly termed Druidic, scattered throughout Europe, is at Carnac in Britany, on which coast the Celtic Apollo had his shrines, and was propitiated under the title of Carneus; and this monument may be considered at once sacred to the names of the warriors and the sun-god Carneus. Thus the Roman Saturnalia, the *carnivale*, has a better etymology in the festival to Carneus, as the sun than in the "adieu to flesh" during the fast. The character of this festival is entirely oriental, and accompanied with the licentiousness which belonged to the celebration of the powers of nature. Even now, although Christianity has banished the grosser forms, it partakes more of a Pagan than a Christian ceremony.

Of the festivals of Krishna the *Anacuta* is the most remarkable: when the seven statues were brought from the different capitals of Rajasthan, and mountains (*cuta*) of food (*ana*) piled up for their repast, at a given signal are levelled by the myriads of votaries assembled from all parts.—About eighty years ago, on a memorable assemblage at the Anacuta, before warfare had devastated Rajasthan, and circumscribed the means of the faithful disciples of Hari, amongst the multitude of *Vishnues* of every region were almost all the Rajpoot princes; Rana Ursi of Mewar, Raja Beejy Sing of Marwar, Raja Guj Sing of Bikaneer, and Bahadur Sing of Kishengurh. Rana Ursi presented to the god a *tora*, or massive anklet-chain set with emeralds: Beejy Sing a diamond necklace worth twenty-five thousand rupees: the other princes according to their means. They were followed by an old woman of Surat, with infirm step and shaking head, who deposited four coppers in the hand of the high-priest, which were received with a gracious smile, not vouchsafed to the lords of the earth. "The Rand is in luck," whispered the chief of Kishengurh to the Rana. Soon afterwards the statue of Hari was brought forth, when the same old woman placed at its feet a bill of exchange for seventy thousand rupees. The mighty were humbled, and the smile of the *Gosaen* was explained. Such gifts, and to a greater amount, are, or were, by no means uncommon from the sons of commerce, who are only known to belong to the flock from the distinguishing necklace of the sect.*

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est; but conjoined with various others in the history of the *Hariculas* of India and the *Heraclidæ* of Greece, I cannot resist the idea that they were connected.

* Gibbon records a similar offering of 200,000 sesterces to the Roman church, by a stranger, in the reign of Decius.

The predatory system which reduced these countries to a state of the most degraded anarchy, greatly diminished the number of pilgrimages to Nathdwara; and the gods of Vrij had sufficient prescience to know that they could guard neither their priests nor followers from the Pathan and Mahratta, to whom the crown of the god or the *nutna* (nose-jewel) of Radha, would be alike acceptable: nor would they have scrupled to retain both the deities and priests as hostages for such imposition as they might deem within their means. Accordingly, of late years, there had been no congress of the gods of Vrij, who remained fixtures on their altars till the halcyon days of A.D. 1818 permitted their liberation.*

The *seven statues* of Kaniya were brought together by the high-priest Balba, who established the festival of the Anacuta. They remained in the same sanctuary until the time of Girdhari, the grandson of Balba, who having seven sons, gave to each a *rupa* or statue, and whose descendants continue in the office of priest. The names and abodes of the gods are as follows:

Nath-ji, *the* god, or Gordan-Nath,
god of the mount ... ... Nathdwara

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1. Nonita ..... Nathdwara.
2. Mathura-Nath ..... Kotah.
3. Dwarca-Nath ..... Kankerowli.
4. Gakul-Nath, or Gokul-Chandrama ..... Jeypur.
5. Yadu-Nath ..... Surat.
6. Vital-Nath ..... Kotah.
7. Mudun Mohuna ..... Jeypur.

Nath-ji is not enumerated amongst the forms; he stands supreme.

* I enjoyed no small degree of favour with the supreme pontiff of the shrine of Apollo and all his votaries, for effecting a meeting of the seven statues of Vishnu in 1820. In contriving this I had not only to reconcile ancient animosities between the priests of the different shrines, in order to obtain a free passport for the gods, but to pledge myself to the princes in whose capitals they were established, for their safe return: for they dreaded lest bribery might entice the priests to fix them elsewhere, which would have involved their loss of sanctity, dignity, and prosperity. It cost me no little trouble, and still more anxiety, to keep the assembled multitudes at peace with each other, for they are as outrageous as any secterians in contesting the supreme power and worth of their respective forms (*rupa*). Yet they all separated, not only without violence, but without even any attempt at robbery, so common on such occasions.

Nonita, or Nonanda, the juvenile Kaniya, has his altar separate, though close to Nath-ji. He is also styled Balamokund, 'the blessed child,' and is depicted as an infant with *pera** or confit-ball in his hand. This image, which was one of the *penates* of a former age, and which, since the destruction of the shrines of Krishna by the Islamites, had lain in the Yamuna, attached itself to the sacerdotal zone (*zunu*) of the high-priest Balba while he was performing his ablutions, who, carrying it home, placed it in a niche of the temple and worshipped it; and Nonanda yet receives the peculiar homage of the high-priest and his family as their household divinity. Of the second image, Mathura-Nath, there is no particular mention; it was at one time at Kamnorh in Mewar, but is now at Kotan.

Balkrishna, the third son, had Dwarca-Nath, which statue, now at Kankerowli in Mewar, is asserted to be the indentical image, that received the adoration of Raja Umrika, a prince of the solar race who lived in the *Satya Yuga*, or silver age. The 'god of the mount' revealed himself in a dream to his high-priest, and told him of the domicile of this his representative at Kanouj. Thither Balba repaired, and having obtained it from the *Brahmin*, appointed Damodur-das Khetri to officiate at his alter.

The fourth statue, that of Gokul-Nath or Gokul Chandrama (*i.e.* the *moon* of Gokul), had an equally mysterous origin, having been discovered in a deep ravine on the banks of the river; Balba assigned it to his brother-in-law. Gokul is an island on the Yumna, a few miles below Mathura, and celebrated in the early history of the pastoral divinity. The residence of his image at Jeypur does not deprive the little island of its honours as a place of pilgrimage; for the '*god of Gokul*' has an altar on the original site, and his rites are performed by an aged priestess, who disowns the jurisdiction of the high-priest of Nathdwara, both in his spritual and temporal concerns of her shrine; and who, to the no small scandal of all who are interested in Apollo, appealed from the fiat of the high-priest to the British court of justice. The royal grants of the Mogul emperors were produced, which proved the right to lay in the high-priest, though a long period of almost undisturbed authority had created a feeling of independent control in the family of the priestess, which they desired might continue. A compromise ensued, when the author was instrumental in restoring harmony to the shrines of Apollo.

* The *pera* of Mathura can only be made from the waters of the Yamuna, from whence it is still conveyed to Nonanda at Nathdwara, and with curds forms his evening repast.

The fifth, Yadu-Nath, is the deified ancestor of the whole *Yadu* race. This image, now at Surat, formerly adorned the shrine of Mahavan near Mathura, which was destroyed by Mahmud.

The sixth, Vital-Nath, or Pandurang, was found in the Ganges at Benaras, Samvat 1572, from which we may judge of their habit of multiplying divinities.

The seventh, Mudun Mohuna, "he who intoxicates with desire," the seductive lover of Radha and the *Gopis*, has his rites performed by a female. The present priestess of Mohuna is the mother of Damadora, the supreme head of all who adore the Apollo of Vrij.

I am not aware of the precise period of Balba Acharya, who thus collected the seven images of Krishna now in Rajasthan; but he must have lived about the time of the last of the Lodi kings, at the period of the conquest of India by the Moguls. The present pontiff, Damadora, as before said, is his lineal descendant; and whether in addressing him verbally or by letter, he is styled *Maharaja* or 'great prince.'*

As the supreme head of the Vishnu sect, his person is held to be *Ansa* or "a portion of the divinity;" and it is maintained that so late as the father of the present incumbent the god manifested himself and conversed with the high-priest. The present pontiff is now about thirty years of age. He is of a benign aspect with much dignity of demeanour: courteous, yet exacting the homage due to his high calling: meek, as becomes the priest of Gobinda, but with the finished manners of one accustomed to the first society. His features are finely moulded, and his complexion good. He is about the middle size, though as he rises to no mortal, I could not exactly judge of his height. When I saw him he had one only daughter, to whom he is much attached. He has but one wife, nor does Krishna allow polygamy to his priest. In times of danger, like some of his prototypes in the dark ages of Europe, he poised the lance, and found it more effective than

* *Gosaen* is a title more applicable to the *celibataire* worshippers of Hari than of Heri—of Jupiter than of Apollo. It is alleged that the Emperor Akbar first bestowed this epithet on the high-priest of Krishna, whose rites attracted his regard. They were previously called *Dikhit* 'one who performs sacrifice,' a name given to a very numerous class of Brahmins.

The *Gotra Acharya*, or genealogical creed of the high-priest, is as follows: "*Tylung Brahmins, Bhardwaja gotra, (a) Guruculu (b) Tyturi sakha; i. e.* Brahmin of Telingana, of the tribe of Bhardwaja, of the race of Guru, of the branch Tyturi.

(*a*) *Bhardwaja* was a celebrated founder of a sect in the early ages.

(*b*) *Guru*, is an epithet applied to Vrishpati, "Lord of the Bull," the Indian Jupiter, who is called the *Guru*, preceptor or guardian of the gods.

spiritual anathemas, against those who would first adore the god, then plunder him. Such were the Mahratta chiefs, Jesswunt Rao Holker and Bapoo Sindhia. Damodara accordingly made the tour of his extensive diocese at the head of four hundred horse, two standards of foot, and two field-pieces. He rode the finest mares in the country; laid aside his pontificals for the quilted *dugla*, and was summoned to matins by the kettle-drum instead of the bell and cymbal. In this he only imitated Kaniya, who often mixed in the ranks of battle and "dyed his saffron robe in the "red-stained field." Had Damodara been captured on one of these occasions by any marauding Pathan, and incarcerated, as he assuredly would have been, for ransom, the marauder might have replied to the Rana, as did the Plantagenet king to Pope, when the surrender of the captive, church-militant bishop was demanded, "Is this thy son Joseph's coat?" But, notwithstanding this display of martial principle, [illegible] covered with a helmet the shaven crown, his conduct and character are amiable and unexceptionable, and he furnishes a striking contrast to the late head of Vishnu establishments in Marwar, who commenced with the care of his master's conscience, and ended with the of the state; meek and unassuming till he added temporal to spiritual power, which developed unlimited pride with the qualities that too often wait on "a little brief authority," and to the display of which he fell a victim. Damodara,† similarly circumstanced, might have evinced the same failings, and have met the same end; but though endeavours were made to give him political influence at the Rana's court, yet, partly from his own good sense, and partly through the dissuasion of the Nestor of Kotah (Zalim Singh), he was not entrained in the vortex of its intrigues, which must have involved the sacrifice of wealth and the proper dignity of his station.

* The high-priest of Jalindra-nath used to appear at the head of a cavalcade far more numerous than any feudal lord of Marwar. A sketch of this personage will appear elsewhere. These Brahmins were not a jot behind the ecclesiastical lords of the middle ages, who are thus characterized:—"Les seigneurs ecclesiastiques, malgre l'humilite chretienne, ne se sont pas montres moins orgueilleux que les nobles laics. Le doyen du chapitre de Notre Dame du Port, a Clermont, pour montrer sa grande noblesse, officiat avec toute la pompe feodale. Etant a l'autel, il avait l'oiseau sur la perche gauche, et on portait devant lui la hallebarde; on la lui portait aussi de la meme maniere pendant qu'on chantait l'evangile, et aux processions il avait lui-meme l'oiseau sur le poing et il marchait a la tete de ses serviteurs, menant ses cheins de chasse."—*Dict. de l' Anc. Regime*, p. 380.

† The first letter I received on reaching England after my long residence in India was from this priest, filled with anxious expressions for my health, and speedy return to protect the lands and sacred kine of Apollo.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Grant of the Rahtore Rani, the Queen-Mother of Oodipur, on the death of her Son, the Heir-Apparent, Prince Umra.

Sid Sri Burra* *Rahtor-ji* to the *Patels* and inhabitants of *Giroh.* The four *bighas* of land, belonging to the Jat Rogga, have been assigned to the Brahmin Kishna on the *Anta Samya* (final epoch) of *Lalji.*† *Let him possess the rents thereof.*‡ The dues for wood and forage (*khur lakur*) contributions (*burar*) are renounced by the state in favour of the Brahmins.

Samvat 1875 *Amavus*, 15*th* [illegible] A.D. 1819.

No. II.

Grant held by a Brahmin of Birkhairah.

"A Brahmin's orphan was compelled by hunger to seek sustenance in driving an oil-mill; instead of oil the receptacle was filled with blood. The frightened oilman demanded of the child who he was; 'A Brahmin's orphan,' was the reply. Alarmed at the enormity of his guilt in this employing the son of a priest, *he covered the palm of his hand with earth, in which he sowed the tulasi seed,* and went on a pilgrimage to

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* The *great Rahtore* queen. There were two of this tribe; she was the queen-mother.

† An endearing epithet, applied to children, from *larlo*, beloved.

‡ It is customary to call these grants to religious orders "grants of land," although they entitle only the rents thereof; for there is no *seizin* of the land itself, as numerous inscriptions testify, and which, as well as the present, prove the proprietary right to be in the cultivator only. The *tamba-patra*, (*a*) or copper-plate *patent* (by which such grants are properly designated) of Yasovarma, the *Pramara* prince of Oojein, seven hundred years ago, is good evidence that the rents only are granted; he commands the crown tenants of the two villages assigned to the temple "*to pay all dues as they arise—money-rent—first share of produce,*" not a word of *seizin* of the soil.—See *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 223.

(*a*) To distinguish them from grants of land *to feudal tenants*, which patents (*putta*) are manuscript.

Dwarica. He demanded the presence (*dursuna*) of the god; the priests pointed to the ocean, when he plunged in, and had an interview with Dwarica Nath, who presented him with a written order on the *Rana* for forty-five *bighas* of land. He returned and threw the writing before the *Rana*, on the steps of the temple of Juggernath. The *Rana* read the writing of the god, placed it on his head, and immediately made out the grant. This is three hundred and fifty years ago, as recorded by an inscription on stone, and his descendant, Koshala, yet enjoys it."

(A true Translation)
J. TOD.

No. III.

The Palode inscription is unfortunately mislaid; but in searching for it, another was discovered from Unair, four miles south-west of the ancient Morwan, where there is a temple to the four-armed divinity (Chathurbhuja), endowed in *Samvat* 1750 by *Rana* Juggut Sing.

On one of the pillars of the temple is inscribed a voluntary gift made in *Samvat* 1845, and signed by the village *Panch*, of the first-fruits of the harvest, *viz. two seers and a-half* (five pounds weight) from each *khal** of the spring' and the same of the autumnal harvests.

No. IV.

Sri Umra Sing (II.) &c. &c.

Whereas the shrine of Sri Pratap-Iswara (*the God of fortune*) has been erected in the meadows of Rasmi, all the groves and trees are sacred to him; whoever cuts down any of them is an offender to the state, and shall pay a fine of three hundred rupees, and the *ass*† shall be the portion of the officers of government who suffer it.

Pos 14, *Samvat* 1712 (A.D. 1656).

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* A *khal* is one of the heaps after the corn is thrashed out, about *five maunds*.

† The *gadda-ghal* is a punishment unknown in any but the Hindu code; the hieroglyphic import appears on the pillar, and must be seen to be understood.

No. V.

Maharana Sri Raj Sing, commanding.

To the *Nobles, Ministers, Patels,** *Putwaris,** of the ten thousand [villages] of Mewar (*dossehes Mewar-ra*), according to your stations—read !

1. From remote times, the temples and dwellings of the *Jains* have been authorized ; let none therefore within their boundaries carry animals to slaughter—this is their ancient privilege.

2. Whatever life, whether man or animal, passes their abode for the purpose of being killed, is saved (*amra*).†

3. Traitors to the state, robbers, felons escaped confinement, who may fly for sanctuary (*sirna*) to the dwellings (*upasra*‡) of the *Yatis*,§ shall not there be seized by the servants of the court.

4 The *kunchi*‖ (handful) at harvest, the *muti* (handful) of *keranoh*, the charity lands (*doli*), grounds, and houses, established by them in the various towns, shall be maintained.

5. This ordinance is issued in consequence of the representation of the *Ric*¶ Manoh, to whom is granted fifteen *bigahs* of *adhan*** land, and twenty-five of *malaiti*.** The same quantity of each kind in each of the districts of Nimbahaira.—Total in three districts, forty-five *bigahs* of *adhan*, and seventy-five of *mal*.††

On seeing this ordinance, let the land be measured and assigned, and let none molest the *Yatis*, but foster their privileges. Cursed be he who infringes them—the *cow* to the Hindu —the *hog* and *corpse* to the Musulman.

(By command)

SAH DYAL, (Minister.)

Samvat 1749, *Mahsud* 5th, A.D. 1693.

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* Revenue officers.

† Literally 'immortal,' from *mura*, 'death,' and the privative prefix.

‡ Schools or colleges of the *Yatis*.

§ Priests of the *Jains*.

‖ *Kunchi* and *muti* are both a 'handful :' the first is applied to grain in the stalk at harvest time ; the other to such edibles in merchandize as sugar, raisins, &c. collectively termed *keranoh*.

¶ *Ric* is an ancient title applied to the highest class of priests ; *Ric-Ricsha-Ric-iswara*, applied to royalty in old times.

** *Adhan* is the richest land, laying under the protection of the town walls ; *mal* or *malaiti* land is land not irrigated from wells.

†† In all a hundred and twenty *bigahs*, or about forty acres.

No. VI.

Maharaja Chuttur Sing (one of the Rana's sons), commanding.

In the town of Rasmi, whoever slays sheep, buffaloes, goats or other living thing, is a criminal to the state; his house, cattle and effects shall be forfeited, and himself expelled the village.

(By command)

The *Pancholi* DUMICA DAS.

Pos Sud 14, *Samvat* 1705, A.D. 1649.

No. VII.

Maharana Jey Sing to the inhabitants of Bakrole; printers, potters, oilmen, &c. &c., commanding.

From the 11th *Asar* (June) to the full moon of *Asoj* (September), none shall drain the waters of the lake; no oil-mill shall work, or earthen vessel be made, during these four rainy months.

No. VIII.

Maharana Sri Juggut Sing II., commanding.

The village of Sirah in the hills, of one thousand rupees yearly rent, having been chosen by Nath-ji (*the* God) for his residence, and given up by Rinna Raghude,* I have confirmed it. The *Gosaen*† and his heirs shall enjoy it for ever.

Samvat 1793, A.D. 1737.

No. IX.

Sid Sri Maharaja Dheraj, Maharana Sri Bhim Sing-ji, commanding.

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* The chief of Delwara.

† There are other grants later than this, which prove that all grants were renewed in every new reign. This grant also proves that no chief has the power to alienate without his sovereign's sanction.

The undermentioned towns and villages were presented to Sri-ji* by copper-plate. The revenues (*hasil*),† contributions (*burar*), taxes, dues (*lagut-be-lagut*), trees, shrubs, *foundations* and *boundaries* (*nim sim*), shall all belong to Sri-ji. If of my seed, none will ever dispute this.

The ancient copper-plate being lost, I have thus renewed it.

Here follows a list of *thirty-four* entire towns and villages, many from the fisc, or confirmations of the grants of the chiefs, besides various parcels of arable lands, from twenty to one hundred and fifty *bigahs*, in forty-six more villages, from chiefs of every class, and patches of meadow-land (*bira*) in twenty more.

No. X.

Sri Maharana Bhima Sing-ji, commanding.

To the towns of Sri-ji, or to the [*personal*] lands of the *Gosaen-ji*,‡ no molestation shall be offered. No warrants or exactions shall be issued or levied upon them. All complaints, suits, or matters, in which justice is required, originating in Nathdwara, shall be settled there; none shall interfere therein, and the decisions of the *Gosaen-ji* I shall invariably confirm. The town and transit duties§ (of Nathdwara and villages pertaining thereto), the assay (*purkhaye*)§ fees from the public markets, duties on precious metals (*kasoti*), § all brokerage (*dalali*) and dues collected at the four gates; all contributions and taxes of whatever kind, are presented as an offering to Sriji; let the income thereof be placed in Sri-ji's coffers.

All the products of foreign countries imported by the *Vaishnuvas*,‖ whether domestic or foreign, and intended for

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* Epithet indicative of the greatness of the deity.

† Here is another proof that the sovereign can only alienate the revenues (*hasil*): and though every thing upon and about the grant, yet *not the soil*. The *nimsim* is almost as powerful an expression as the old grant to the Rawdons:—

> "From earth to heaven,
> From heaven to hell,
> For thee and thine
> Therein to dwell."

‡ The high-priest.

§ All these are royalties, and the Rana was much blamed, even by his *Vishnuva* ministers, for sacrificing them even to Kaniya.

‖ Followers of Vishnu, Krishna, or Kaniya, chiefly mercantile.

consumption at Nathdwara,* shall be exempted from duties. The right of sanctuary (*sirna*) of Sri-ji, both in the town and in all his other villages,† will be maintained: the Almighty will take cognizance of any innovation. Wherefore, let all chiefs, farmers of duties, beware of molesting the goods of Nath-ji (*the* god), and wherever such may halt, let guards be provided for their security, and let each chief convey them through his bounds in safety. If of my blood, or if my servants, this warrant be disobeyed for ever and for ever. Whoever resumes this grant will be a caterpillar in hell during 60,000 years.

By command—through the chief butler (*Panairi*) Eklingdas: written by Surut Sing, son of Nathji Pancholi, *Mah-sud* 1st, *Samvat* 1865: A. D. 1809.

No. XI.

Personal grant to the high-priest, Damodurji Maharaj.

Swesta Sri, from the abode at Udyapur, Maharana Sri Bhim Sing-ji, commanding.

To all the chieftains, landholders, managers of the crown and *dori*‡ lands, to all *Patels*, &c. &c. &c. As an offering to the *Sri Gosaen-ji* two rupees have been granted in every village throughout *Mewar*, one in each harvest—let no opposition be made thereto. If of my kin or issue, none will revoke this—the *an* (oath of allegiance) be upon his head. By command, through Purihara Myaram, *Samvat* 1860, *Jaet sud* 5th *Mungulwar*. A.D. 1804.

At one side of the patent, in the Ranna's own hand, "An offering to Sri Girdhari-ji § Maharaj—If of my issue none will disobey—who dares, may the Almighty punish!"

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* Many merchants, by the connivance of the conductors of the caravans of Nathji's goods, contrived to smuggle their goods to Nathdwara, and to the disgrace of the high-priest or his underlings, this traffic was sold for their personal advantage. It was a delicate thing to search these caravans, or to prevent the loss to the state from the evasion of the duties. The Rana durst not interfere, lest he might incur the penalty of his own anathemas. The author's influence with the high-priest put a step to this.

† This extent of sanctuary is an innovation of the present Rana's, with many others equally unwise.

‡ Lands for the queens or others of the immediate household.

§ Father of the present high-priest, Damodurji.

No. XII.

Maharana Bhim Sing, commanding.

To the Mindra (*minister*) of Sri Murli Munohur (*flute-delighting*), situated on the dam of the lake at Mandelgurh, the following grant has been made, with all the dues, income, and privileges, *viz.*

1. The hamlet called Kotwal-Khera with all thereto appertaining.

2. Three rupees worth of saffron from the transit duty *chabutra*. monthly

3. From the police-office of Mandelgurh

Three tunics (*bagha*) for the idol on each festival, *viz.* *Ushtumi*, *Jul-jatra*, and *Vassunt Panchama*.

Five rupees worth of oil * on the *Jul-jatra*, and two and half in the full moon of *Kartik*.

4. Both gardens under the dam of the lake, with all the fruits and flowers thereof.

5. The *Irich* † on all the vegetables appertaining to the prince.

6. *Kunchi* and *dalali*, or the handful at harvest, and all brokerage.

7. The income arising from the sale of the estates is to be applied to the repairs of the temple and dam.

Magsir Sud 1, *Samvat* 1866 ; A.D. 1810.

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* Amongst the items of the Chartulary of Dumfermline, is the tythe of the oil of the Greenland whale fisheries.

† A handful of every basket of vegetables sold in the public markets.

CHAPTER XXI.

Importance of mythological history.—Aboriginal tribes of India.—The Rajpoots are conquerors.—Solar year of the Hindus—opened at the winter solstice:—The Vassunt, or spring festival.—Birth of the Sun.—Common origin assumed of the Rajpoots and Getic tribes of Scandinavia.—Surya, the sun-good of all nations, Thor, Syrus, Sol.—Sun-worship.—The Ahairea, or spring-hunt, described.—Boar-feast.—Phalgun festival.—The Rajpoot Saturnalia.—Games on horseback.—Rites to the Manes.—Festival of Sitla as guardian of children.—Rana's brith-day.—Phuladola, the Rajpoot Floralia Festival of Gouri—compared with the Diana of Egypt—the Isis or the Suevi—and the Phrygian Cybele.—Anniversary of Rama.—Fete of Camdeva or Cupid.—Little Gangore.—Inundation of the capital.—Festival of Rembha or Venus.—Rajpoot and Druidic rites—their analogy.—Serpent-worship.—Rakhi, or festival of the bracelet.

It has been observed by that philosophical traveller, Dr. Clarke, that, "by a proper attention to the vestiges of ancient superstition, we are sometimes enabled to refer a whole people to their original ancestors, with as much, if not more certainty, than by observations made upon their language; because the superstition is engrafted upon the stock, but the language is liable to change."* Impressed with the justness, as well as the originality of the remark, I shall adopt it as my guide in the observations I propose to make on the religious festivals and superstitions of Mewar. However important may be the study of military, civil, and political history, the science is incomplete without mythological history; and he is little imbued with the spirit of philosophy, who can perceive in the fables of antiquity nothing but the extravagance of a fervid imagination. Did no other consequence result from the study of mythology, than the fact, that, in all ages and countries, man has desecrated his reason, and voluntarily reduced himself below the level of the brutes that perish, it must provoke inquiry into the cause of this degradation. Such an investigation would develop, not only the source of history, the handmaid of the arts and sciences, but the origin and application of the latter, in a theogony typical of the seasons, their

* Travels in Scandinavia, vol. i. p. 33.

changes, and products. Thus mythology may be considered the parent of all history.

With regard, however, to the rude tribes who still inhabit the mountains and fastnesses of India, and who may be regarded as the aborigines of that country, the converse of this doctrine is more probable. Not their language only, but their superstitions, differ from those of the Rajpoots: though, from a desire to rise above their natural condition, they have engrafted upon their own the most popular mythologies of their civilized conquerors, who from the north gradually spread themselves over the continent and peninsula, even to the remote isles of the Indian ocean. Of the primitive inhabitants we may enumerate the Meenas, the Meras, the Goands, the Bhils, the Seryas, the Sarjas, the Ahiras, the Goojurs, and those who inhabit the forests of the Nerbudda, the Sone, the Mahanadi, the mountains of Sargooja, and the lesser Nagpur; many of whom are still but little removed from savage life, and whose dialects are as various as their manners. These are content to be called the 'sons of the earth,'* or 'children of the forest,' † while conquerors, the Rajpoots, arrogate celestial descent.‡ How soon after the flood the Suryas, or sun-worshippers, entered India Proper, must ever remain uncertain. It is sufficient that they were anterior in date to the *Indus*, or races tracing their descent from the moon (*Indu*); as the migration of the latter from the central lands of Indo-Scythia was antecedent to that of the Agniculas, or fire-worshippers, of the Snake race, claiming Takshac as their original progenitor. The Suryas,§ who migrated both to the East and West, as population became redundant in these fertile regions, may be considered the *Celtic*, as the Indu-Getæ may be accounted the *Gothic*, races of India. To attempt to discriminate these different races, and mark the shades which once separated them, after a system of priestcraft has amalgamated the mass, and identified their superstitions, would be fruitless; but the imperfect guidance of peculiar rites, discover things, and even names, totally incongruous with the Brahminical system, and which could never have originated within the Indus

* *Bhumaputra.* † *Vanaputra.*

‡ *Suryas* and *Induputras.*

§ The Sauromatia, or Sarmatians of early Europe, as well as the Syrians, were most probably colonies of the same Suryavansi, who simultaneously peopled the shores of the Caspian and Mediterranean, and the banks of the Indus and Ganges. Many of the tribes described by Strabo as dwelling around the Caspian, are enumerated amongst the thirty-six royal races of India. One of these, the *Sacaseni*, supposed to be the ancestors of our own Saxon race, settled themselves on the Araxes in Armenia, adjoining Albania.

or Uttuc,—the Rubicon of Gangetic antiquarians, who fear to look beyond that stream for the origin of tribes. A residence amongst the Rajpoots would lead to a disregard of such boundaries, either to the moral or physical man, as the annals of Mewar abundantly testify.

Sir Wm. Jones remarks, "if the festivals of the old Greeks, Persians, Romans, Egyptians and Goths, could be arranged with exactness in the same form with the Indian, there would be found a striking resemblance among them; and an attentive comparison of them all, might throw great light on the religion and perhaps on the history, of the primitive world."

In treating of the festivals and superstitions of the Rajpoots, wherever there may appear to be a fair ground for supposing an analogy with those of other nations of antiquity, I shall not hesitate to pursue it. The proper names of many of the martial Rajpoots would alone point out the necessity of seeking for a solution of them out of the explored paths; and where Sanskrit derivation cannot be assigned, as it happens in many instances, we are not, therefore, warranted in the hasty conclusion that the names must have been adopted since the conquests of Mahmoud or Shabudin,—events of comparatively modern date. Let us at once admit the hypothesis of Pinkerton,—the establishment of an original Indu-Getic or Indo-Scythic empire, "extending from the Caspian to the Ganges;" or if this conjecture be too extensive or too vague, let us fix the centre of this *Madhya-Bhumi* in the fertile region of Sogdiana;* and from the lights which modern history affords on the many migrations from this nursery of mankind, even since the time of Mahomed, let us form an opinion of those which have not been recorded, or have been conveyed by the Hindus only in imperfect allegory; and with the aid of ancient customs, obsolete words, and proper names, trace them to Indo-Scythic colonies grafted on the parent stock. The *Purans* themselves bear testimony to the incorporation of Scythic tribes with the Hindus, and to the continual irruptions of the Sacæ, the Pelavi, the Yavans,† the Turshkas, names conspicuous

* Long after the overthrow of the Greek kingdom of Bactria by the Yuti or Getes, this region was populous and flourishing. In the year 120 before Christ, De Guignes says: "Dans ce pays on trouvait d'excellens grains, du vin de vigne, plus de cent villes, tant grandes que petites. Il est aussi fait mention [illegible] Tahia situe au midi du Gihon, et ou il y a de grandes villes murees. L[illegible]eneral Chinois y vit des toiles de l'Inde et autres marchandises &c., [illegible] *Hist. Gen. des Huns*, vol. i. p. 51.

† Yavan or J[illegible] is a celebrated link of the Indu (*lunar*) genealogical chain; nor r[illegible] we go to Ionia for it, though the Ionians may be a a colony descende[illegible]m Javan, the ninth from Yayati, who was the third son of Ayu, the ancestor of the Hindu as well as of the Tatar Indu-vans

amongst the races of Central Asia, and recorded in the pages of the earliest Western historians. Even so early as the period of Rama, when furious international wars were carried on between the military and sacerdotal classes for supremacy, we have the names of these tribes recorded as auxiliaries to the priesthood; who, while admitting them to fight under the banners of Siva, would not scruple to stamp them with the seal of Hinduism. In this manner, beyond a doubt, at a much later period than the events in the *Ramayana*, these tribes from the North either forced themselves among, or were incorporated with, 'the races of the sun.' When therefore, we meet with rites in Rajpootana and in ancient Scandinavia, such as were practised amongst the Getic nations on the Oxus, why should we hesitate to assign the origin of both to this region of earliest civilization? When we see the ancient Asi, and the Yeuts, or Juts; taking omens from the white steed of Thor, shut up in the temple at Upsala; and, in like manner the Rajpoot of past days offering the same animal in sacrifice to the sun, and his modern descendant taking the omen from his neigh, why are we to refuse our assent to the common origin of the superstition practised by the Gete of the Oxus? Again, when we find the "*homage to the sword*" performed by all the Getic races of antiquity in Dacia, on the Baltic, as well as by the modern Rajpoot, shall we draw no conclusion from this testimony of the father of history, who declares that such rites were practised on the Jaxartes in the very dawn of knowledge? Moreover, why hesitate to give Eastern etymologies for Eastern rites, though found on the Baltic? The antiquarian of the North (Mallet) may thus be assisted to the etymon of '*Tir-sing*,' the enchanted sword of Angantyr, in *tir* 'water,' and *sing* 'a lion;' *i. e.* in water or spirit like a lion; for even *pani*, the common epithet for water, is applied metaphorically to 'spirit.'

It would be less difficult to find Sanskrit derivations for many of the proper names in the *Edda*, than to give a Sanskrit analysis of many common amongst the Rajpoots, which we must trace to an Indo-Scythic root: * such as Eyvorsel, Udila, Attitai, Pujoon, Hamira,† and numerous other proper names

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The *Asuras* who are so often described as invaders of India, and which word has ordinarily a mere irreligious acceptation, I firmly believe to mean the Assyrians.

* See Turner's *Hist. of Anglo-Saxons* for Indo-Scythic words.

† There were no less than four distinguished leaders of this name amongst the vassals of the last Rajpoot emperor of Delhi; and one of them, who turned traitor to his sovereign and joined Shabudin, was actually a Scythian, and of the Ghiker race, which maintained their ancient habits

of warriors. Of tribes: the Cathi, Rajpali, Mohila, Sariaspah' Aswaria (*qu.* Assyrian), Binafur, Camari, Silara, Dahima, &c. Of mountains: Drunadhar, Arabudha, Aravali, Arovindha (the root *ara*, or mountain, being Scythic, and the expletive adjunct Sanskrit,) 'the hill of Budha,' 'of strength,' 'of limit.' To all such as cannot be resolved into the cognate language of India, what origin can we assign but Scythic?*

In a memoir prepared for me by a well-informed public officer in the Rana's court, on the chief festivals celebrated in Mewar, he commenced with those following the antumnal equinox, in the month Asoj or Aswani, opening with the *Noratri*, sacred to the god of war. Their fasts are in general regulated by the moon; although the most remarkable are solar, especially those of the equinoxes and solstices, and the *Sancrantis*, or days on which the sun enters a new sign. The Hindu solar year anciently commenced on the winter solstice, in the month Posha, and was emphatically called "*the morning of the gods*;" also Sivrat, or night of Siva, analogous, as has been before remarked, to the '*mother night*,' which ushered in the new year of the Scandinavian Asi, and other nations of Asiatic origin dwelling in the north.

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of polyandrism even in Baber's time. The *Haoli Rao* Hamira was lord of Kangra and the Ghikers of Pamer.

* Turner, when discussing the history of the *Sakai*, or *Sacaseni*, of the Caspian, whom he justly supposes to be the Saxons of the Baltic, takes occasion to introduce some words of Scythic origin (preserved by ancient writers), to almost every one of which, without straining etymology, we may give a Sanskrit origin.

Scythic.	Sanskrit or Bakha.
Expaimos·· sacred ways···	*Agham* is the sacred book; *pai* and *pada*, a foot; *pante* a path.
Arimu.....one.....	*Ad* is *the first* whence *Adim*, or man.
Spou.....an eye.	
Oior.....a man.	
Pata.....to kill.....	*Badha*, to kill.
Tahiti.....the chief deity, is Vesta.....	Tapi is heat or flame; the type of Vesta.
Papaios.....Jupiter.....	Baba, or Bapa, the universal father. The Hindu Jivapitri, or *Father* of Life.
Oitosuros.....Apollo.....	Aitiswara, or *Sun-God*, applicable to Vishnu who has every attribute of Apollo; from *ait* contract of *aditya*, the sun.
Artimpasa, or Aripasa.....Venus.....	Apsara, because born from the froth or essence, '*sara*,' of the waters, '*ap*.'
Thamimasadus...Neptune...	Thoenatha; or, *God of the Waters*.
Apia.....wife of Papaios, or Earth...··· ···	Amba, Ama, Omia is the *universal mother*; wife of "Baba Adam," as they term the universal father.

See *Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. i. p. 35.

They term the summer solstice in the month of Asar, '*the night of the Gods*,' because Vishnu (as the sun) reposes during the four rainy months on his serpent couch. The lunar year of 360 days was more ancient than the solar, and commenced with the month of Asoj or Aswini: "the moon being at the full when that name was "imposed on the first lunar station of the Hindu ecliptic." *

According to another authority, the festivals commenced on Amavus, or the '*ides*' of Cheyt, near which the vernal equinox falls, the opening of the modern solar year; when in like manner as at the commencement of the lunar year in Asoj, they dedicate the first nine days of Cheyt (also called Noratri) to Iswara and his consort Isa.

Having thus specified both modes of reckoning for the opening of the solar and lunar years, I shall not commence the abstract of the festivals of Mewar with either, but follow the more ancient division of time, when the year closed with the winter solstice in the month of Posh, consequently opening the new year with Magh. By this arrangement, we shall commence with the spring-festivals, and let the days dedicated to mirth and gaiety follow each other; preferring the natural to the astrological year, which will enable us to preserve the analogy with the northern nations of Europe, who also reckoned from the winter solstice. The Hindu divides the year into six seasons, each of two months; *viz.* Vassanta, Greeshma, Varsha, Sharat, Shishira, Sheeta; or spring, summer, rainy, sultry, dewy, and cold.

It is not, however, my intention to detail all the fasts and festivals which the Rajpoot of Mewar holds in common with the Hindu nation, but chiefly those restricted to that state, or such as are celebrated with local peculiarity, or striking analogies to those of Egypt, Greece, or Scandinavia. The goddess who presides over mirth and idleness, preferred holding her court amidst the ruins of Oodipur, to searching elsewhere for a dwelling. This determination to be happy amidst calamity, individual and national, has made the court proverbial in Rajwara, in the adage, "*sath bara, aur no tahwara*" i. e. *nine* holidays out of *seven* days. Although many of these festivals are common to India, and their maintenance is enjoined by religion, yet not only the prolongation and repetition of some, but the entire institution of others, as well as the peculiar splendour of their solemnization, originate with the prince; proving how much individual example may influence the manners of a nation.

* Sir W. Jones, 'on the Lunar Year of the Hindus,' *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. p. 257.

By the arrangement we have adopted, the lovely VASSANTI, goddess of the spring, will usher in the festivals of Mewar. In 1819 her rites were celebrated in the kalends of January, and even then, on the verge of the tropic, her birth was premature.

The opening of the spring being on the 5th of the month Magha, is thence called the Vassant *panchami*, which in 1819 fell on the 30th of January; consequently the first of Posh (the antecedent month) the beginning of the Old Hindu year, or "*the morning of the gods*," fell on the 25th of December. The Vassant continues forty days after the *panchami*, or initiative fifth, during which the utmost license prevails in action and in speech; the lower classes regale even to intoxication on every kind of stimulating confection and spirituous beverage, and the most respectable individuals, who would at other times be shocked to utter an indelicate allusion, roam about with the groups of bacchanals, reciting stanzas of the warmest description in praise of the powers of nature, as did the conscript fathers of Rome during the Saturnalia. In this season, when the barriers of rank are thrown down, and the spirit of democracy is let loose, though never abused, even the wild Bhil, or savage Meer, will leave his forest or mountain shade to mingle in the revelries of the capital; and decorating his ebon hair or tattered turban with a garland of jessamine, will join the clamorous parties which perambulate the streets of the capital. These orgies are, however, reserved for the conclusion for the forty days sacred to the goddess of nature.

Two days following the initiative fifth, is the *bhan septimi* or 'seventh [day] of the sun,' also called 'the birth of the sun,' with various other metaphorical denominations.* On this day there is a grand procession of the Rana, his chiefs and vassals, to the Chougan, where the sun is worshipped. At the Jeipur court, whose princes claim descent from CUSH, the second son of RAMA, the *bhan septimi* is peculiarly sacred. The chariot of the sun, drawn by eight horses, is taken from the temple dedicated to that orb, and moves in procession: a ceremony otherwise never observed but on the inauguration of a new prince.

In the mythology of the Rajpoots, of which we have a better idea from their heroic poetry than from the legends of the Brahmins, the sun-god is the deity they are most anxious to propitate; and in his honour they fearlessly expend their blood in battle, from the hope of being received into his mansion. Their highest heaven is accordingly the *Bhan-than*

* *Bhascara septimi*, in honour of the sun, as a form of Vishnu.—*Varaha Purana*. *Macari*, from the sun entering the constellation *Macara* (Pisces), the first of the solar Magha—See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. p. 275.

or *Bhanuloca*, the 'region of the sun:' and like the Indo-Scythic Gete, the Rajpoot warrior of the early ages sacrificed the horse in his honour, and dedicated to him the first day of the week, *viz. Aditwar*, contracted to *Aitwar*, also called Thawara. *

The more we attend to the warlike mythology of the north, the more apparent is its analogy with that of the Rajpoots, and the stronger ground is there for assuming that both races inherited their creed from the common land of the *Yuti* of the Jaxartes. What is a more proper etymon for Scandinavia, the abode of the warriors, who destroyed the Roman power, than *Scanda*, the Mars or Ku-mara of the Rajpoots? Perhaps the origin of the *Kimbri*, derived by Mallet from *Kœmpfer*, 'to fight.'

Thor, in the eleventh fable of the *Eddu*, is denominated Asa-Thor,† the 'lord Thor,' called the Celtic Mars by the Romans. The chariot of Thor is ignobly yoked, compared with the car of Súrya; but in the substitution of the *he-goats* for the seven-headed horse *Septaswa*, we have but the change of an adjunct depending on clime, when the *Yuti* migrated from the plains of Scythia, of which the horse is a native, to *Yutland*, of whose mountains the goat was an inhabitant prior to any of the race of *Asi*. The northern warrior makes the palace of the sun-god Thor the most splendid of the celestial abodes, "in which are five hundred and forty halls;" vying with the *Surya-Mandala*, the supreme heaven of the Rajpoot. Whence such notions of the *Aswa* races of the Ganges, and the *Asi* of Scandinavia, but from the Scythic Sacæ, who adored the solar divinity under the name of "*Gœto-Syrus*,"‡ the *Surya* of the *Sacha* Rajpoot; and as, according to the commentator on the *Edda*, "the ancient people of the north pronounced the *th* as the English now do *ss*, the sun-god *Thor* becomes *Sor*, and is identified still more with *Surya*, whose worship no doubt gave the name to that extensive portion of Asia called *Syria*, as it did to the small peninsula of the *Sauras*, still peopled by tribes of Scythic origin. The *Sol* of

* This word appears to have the same import as Thor, the sun-god and war divinity of the Scandinavians.

† Odin is also called *As* or 'lord'; the Gauls also called him *Œs* or *Es*, and with a Latin termination *Hesus*, whom Lucan calls *Esus*; *Edda*, vol. ii. pp. 45-6. The celebrated translator of these invaluable remnants of ancient superstitions, by which alone light can be thrown on the origin of nations, observes that *Es* or *Œs*, is the name for *God* with all the Celtic races. So it was with the Tuscans, doubtless from the Sanskrit, or rather from a more provincial tongue, the common contraction of *Eswar*, the Egyptian *Osiris*, the Persian *Syr*, the sun-god."

‡ Which Mallet, from Hesychius, interprets 'good star.'

the Romans has probably the same Celto-Etrurian origin; with those tribes the sun was the great object of adoration, and their grand festival, the winter solstice, was called *Yule, Hiul, Houl,* "which even at this day signifies the SUN, in the language of Bas-Bretagne and Cornwall."* On the conversion of the descendants of these Scythic Yeuts, who, according to Herodotus, sacrificed the horse (*Hi*) to the sun (*El*), the name of the Pagan jubilee of the solstice was transferred to the day of Christ's nativity, which is thus still held in remembrance by their descendants of the north.

At Oodipur the sun has universal precedence; his portal (*Surya-pol*) is the chief entrance to the city; his name gives dignity to the chief apartment or hall (*Surya-mahal*) of the palace; and from the balcony of the sun (*Surya-gokra*) the descendant of Rama shews himself in the dark monsoon as the sun's representative. A huge painted sun of gypsum in high relief, with gilded rays, adorns the hall of audience, and in front of it is the throne. As already mentioned, the sacred standard bears his image, as does that Scythic part of the regalia called the *changi*, a disc of black felt or ostrich feathers, with a plate of gold to represent the sun in its centre borne upon a pole. The royal parasol is termed *kirnia*, in allusion to its shape, like a ray (*carna*) of the orb. The last day but one of the month of Magha is called *Sivrat* (night of Siva), and is held peculiarly sacred by the Rana, who is styled the Regent of Siva. It is a rigid fast, and the night is passed in vigils, and rites to the phallic representative of Siva.

The merry month of Phalgun is ushered in with the *Ahairea*, or spring-hunt.† The preceding day the Rana distributes to all his chiefs and servants either a dress of green, or some portion thereof, in which all appear habited on the morrow, whenever the astrologer has fixed the hour for sallying forth to slay the boar to *Gouri*, the Ceres of the Rajpoots: the *Ahairea* is therefore called the *Mahoorut ca sikar*, or *the chase* fixed astrologically. As their success on this occasion is ominous of future good, no means are neglected to secure it

* Mallet's Northern Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 42.

† In his delight for this diversion, the Rajpoot evinces his Scythic propensity. The grand hunts of the last Chohan emperor often led him into warfare, for Prithwi Raj was a *poacher* of the first magnitude and one of his battles with the Tatars was while engaged in field sports on the *Ravi*.

The heir of Gengis Khan was chief huntsman, the highest office of the state amongst the Scythic Tatars: as Ajanubahu, alike celebrated in either field, of war and sport, was chief huntsman to the Chohan emperor of Delhi whose bard enters minutely into the subject, describing all the variety of dogs of chace.

either by scouts previously discovering the lair, or the desperate efforts of the hunters to slay the boar when roused. With the sovereign and his sons all the chiefs sally forth, each on his best steed, and all animated by the desire to surpass each other in acts of prowess and dexterity. It is very rare that in some one of the passes or recesses of the valley the hog is not found; the spot is then surrounded by the hunters, whose vociferations soon start the *dhokra*,* and frequently a drove of hogs. Then each cavalier impels his steed, and with lance or sword, regardless of rock, ravine, or tree, presses on the bristly foe, whose knowledge of the country is of no avail when thus circumvented, and the ground soon reeks with gore, in which not unfrequently is mixed that of horse or rider. On the last occasion, there occurred fewer casualties than usual; though the Chondawut Hamira, whom we nicknamed the "*Red Riever*," had his leg broken, and the second son of Sheodan Sing, a near relation of the Rana, had his neighbour's lance driven through his arm. The young chief of Saloombra was amongst the distinguished of this day's sport. It would appal even an English fox-hunter to see the Rajpoots driving their steeds at full speed, bounding like the antelope over every barrier,—the thick jungle covert, or rocky steep bare of soil or vegetation,—with their lances balanced in the air, or leaning on the saddle-bow slashing at the boar.

The royal kitchen moves out on this occasion, and in some chosen spot the repast is prepared, of which all partake, for the hog is the favourite food of the Rajpoot, as it was of the heroes of Scandinavia. Nor is the *munwar piala*, or invitation cup, forgotten; and having feasted, and thrice slain their bristly antagonist, they return to the capital, where fame had already spread their exploits,—the deeds done by the *birchi* (lance) of Pudma,† or the *khanda* (sword) blow of Hamira,‡ which lopped the head of the foe of *Gouri*. Even this martial amusement, the *Ahairea*, has a religious origin. The boar is the enemy of Gouri of the Rajpoots; it was so held of Isis by the Egyptians, of Ceres by the Greeks, of Freya by the northman, whose favourite food was the hog: and of such importance was it deemed by the Franks, that the second chapter of the Salic law is entirely penal with regard to the stealers of swine. The heroes of the *Edda*, even in Valhalla, feed on the fat of the wild boar Serimner, while "the illustrious father of armies fattens his wolves *Geri* and *Freki*, and takes no other nourishment himself than the uninterrupted quaffing of wine:" quite the

* A hog in Hindee; in Persian *hooq*, nearly our *hog*.
† Chief of Saloombra.
‡ Chief of Hamirgurh.

picture of Hur, the Rajpoot god of war, and his sons, the Bhyrus, Gora and Kala, metaphorically called the "*sons of slaughter.*" We need hardly repeat that the cup of the Scandinavian god of war, like that of the Rajpoots, is the human skull (*khapra*).

As Phalgun advances, the bacchanalian mirth increases; groups are continually patrolling the streets, throwing a crimson powder at each other, or ejecting a solution of it from syringes, so that the garments and visages of all are one mass of crimson. On the 8th, emphatically called the *Phag*, the Rana joins the queens and their attendants in the palace, when all restraint is removed and mirth is unlimited. But the most brilliant sight is the playing of the *holi* on horseback, on the terrace in front of the palace. Each chief who chooses to join has a plentiful supply of missiles, formed of thin plates of mica or talc, enclosing this crimson powder, called *abira* which with the most graceful and dextrous horsemanship they dart at each other, pursuing, caprioling, and jesting. This part of it much resembles the Saturnalia of Rome of this day, when similar missiles are scattered at the *Carnivale*. The last day or *Purnum* ends the *holi*, when the Nakarras from the *Tripolia* summon all the chiefs with their retinues to attend their prince, and accompany him in procession to the Chougan, their *Champ de Mars*. In the centre of this is a long *sala* or hall, the ascent to which is by a flight of steps: the roof is supported by square columns without any walls, so that the court is entirely open. Here, surrounded by his chiefs, the Rana passes an hour, listening to the songs in praise of *Holica*, while a scurrilous *cavya* or couplet from some wag in the crowd reminds him, that exalted rank is no protection against the license of the spring Saturnalia; though "the Dewan of Eklinga" has not to reproach himself with a failure of obedience to the rites of the goddess, having fulfilled the command "to multiply" more than any individual in his kingdom.* While the Rana and his chief are, thus amused above, the buffoons and itinerant groups mix with the cavalcade, throw powder in their eyes, or deluge their garments with the crimson solution. To resent it would only expose the sensitive party to be laughed at, and draw upon him a host of these bacchanals: so that no alternative exists between keeping entirely aloof or mixing in the fray.†

* He has been the father of more than one hundred children, legitimate and illegitimate, though very few are living.

† That this can be done without any loss of dignity by the *Sahib log* (a name European gentlemen have assumed) is well known to those who may have partaken of the hospitalities of that honorable man,

On the last day, the Rana feasts his chiefs, and the camp breaks up with the distribution of *khanda nareal*, or swords and coco-nuts, to the chiefs and all "whom the king delighteth to honour." These *khandas* are but "of lath," in shape like the Andrea Ferrara, or long cut-and-thrust, the favourite weapon of the Rajpoot. They are painted in various ways, like Harlequin's sword, and meant as a burlesque, in unison with the character of the day, when war is banished, and the multiplication,* not the destruction, of man is the behest of the goddess who rules the spring. At night-fall, the forty days conclude with *the burning of the holi*, when they light large fires, into which various substances, as well as the crimson *abira*, are thrown, and around which groups of children are dancing and screaming in the streets like so many infernals. Until three hours after sunrise of the new month of Cheyt, these orgies are continued with increased vigour, when the natives bathe, change their garments, worship, and return to the rank of sober citizens; and princes and chiefs receive gifts from their domestics.†

Cheyt. The first of this month is the Samvatsiri (vulg. *Chamchari*), or anniversary of the death of the Rana's father, to whose memory solemn rites are performed both in the palace and at *Ara*, the royal cemetery, metaphorically termed "Maha-Sati,' or place of '*great faith*.' Thither the Rana repairs, and offers oblations to the *manes* of his father and after purifying in the *Gangabhava*, a rivulet which flows through the middle of "the abode of silence," he returns to the palace.

On the 3rd, the whole of the royal insignia proceeds to Baidla, the residence of the Chohan chief (one of the *sixteen*), within the valley of the capital, in order to convey the *Rao* to court. The Rana advances to *Ganesa Deori*‡ to receive him; when, after salutation, the sovereign and his cheif return to the great hall of assembly, hand in hand, but that of the *Chohan*

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and brave and zealous officer, Colonel James Skinner, C.B., at Hansi. That his example is worthy of imitation in the mode of commanding, is best evinced by the implicit and cheerful obedience his men pay to his instructions when removed from his personal control. He has passed through the ordeal of nearly thirty years of unremitted service, and from the glorious days of Delhi and Laswari under Lake, to the last siege of Bhurtpore, James Skinner has been second to none. In obtaining for this gallant and modest officer the order of the Bath, Lord Combermere must have been applauded by every person who knows the worth of him who bears it, which includes the whole army of Bengal.

* Evinced in the presentation of the *sri-phala*, the fruit of *Sri*, which is the coco-nut, emblematic of fruitfulness.

† Another point of resemblance to the Roman Saturnalia.

‡ A hall so called in honour of Ganesa, or Janus, whose effigies adorn the entrance.

above or upon his sovereign's. In this ceremony we have another singular memorial of the glorious days of Mewar, when almost every chieftain established by deeds of devotion a right to the eternal gratitude of their princes; the decay of whose power but serves to hallow such reminiscences. It is in these little acts of courteous condescension, deviations from the formal routine of reception, that we recognize the traces of Rajpoot history; for inquiry into these customs will reveal the incident which gave birth to each, and curiosity will be amply repaid, in a lesson at once of political and moral import. For my own part, I never heard the kettle-drum of my friend Raj Kulan strike at the sacred barrier, the *tripolia*, without recalling the glorious memory of his ancestor at the Thermopylæ of Mewar; nor looked on the autograph lance, the symbol of the Chondawuts, without recognizing the fidelity of the founder of the clan; nor observed the honours paid to the Chohans of Baidla and Kotario, without the silent tribute of applause to the manes of their sires.

Cheyt badi sath, or '7th of Cheyt,' is in honour of the goddess *Sitla*, the protectress of children: all the matrons of the city proceed with their offerings to the shrine of the goddess, placed upon the very pinnacle of an isolated hill in the valley.* In every point of view, this divinity is the twin-sister of the *Mater Montana*, the guardian of infants amongst the Romans, the Grecian or Phrygian Cybele.

This is also the Rana's birth-day,† on which occasion classes flock with gifts and good wishes that "the live for ever" but it is in the penetralia of the *R* the profane eye enters not, that the greatest day are kept.

Cheyt *Sudi* 1st (15th of the month) *luni-sola* year of Vicramaditya. Cere especially appertain to the *Noratri* of A this day; and the sword is worshipped in rites are subordinate to those of the fa rules over this smiling portion of th ripened into the fragrant Flora, and as well as the other sex, repair to the g parties assemble, regale, and swing, ad roses, jessamine, or oliander, when the vie with the Trivoli of Paris. They retu the city.

"*The Festival of Flowers.*"—The R in the rites of the beneficent Gouri, w

* The vignette view shews the peak of Si

† It fell on the 18th March 1819.

the number sacred to the creative power. These vie with the *Cerealia* of Rome, or the more ancient rites of the goddess of the Nile: I shall therefore devote some space to a particular account of them.

Gangore.—Among the many remarkable festivals of Rajasthan, kept with peculiar brilliancy at Oodipur, is that in honour of *Gouri*, or Isani, the goddess of abundance, the Isis of Egypt, the Ceres of Greece. Like the Rajpoot Saturnalia, which it follows, it belongs to the vernal equinox, when nature in these regions proximate to the tropic, is in the full expanse of her charms, and the matronly Gouri casts her golden mantle over the beauties of the verdant Vassanti.* Then the fruits exhibit their promise to the eye: the kokil fills the ear with melody; the air is impregnated with aroma, and the crimson poppy contrasts with the spikes of golden grain, to form a wreath for the beneficent Gouri.

Gouri is one of the names of Isa or Parvati, wife of the greatest of the gods, Mahadeva or Iswara, who is conjoined with her in these rites; which almost exclusively appertain to the women. The meaning of *gouri* is 'yellow,' emblematic of the ripened harvest, when the votaries of the goddess adore her effigies, which are those of a matron painted the colour of ripe corn; and though her image is represented with only two hands, in one of which she holds the lotus, which the Egyptians regarded as emblematic of reproduction, not unfrequently they equip her with the warlike conch, and the club, to denote that the goddess, whose life, is likewise accessary to the loss of it: uri and Cali the Characters of life and death, Cybele of the Egyptians. But here she is -*purana*, the benefactress of mankind. The en the sun enters Aries (the opening of a deputation to a spot beyond the city, r the image of Gouri."† When this is of Iswara is made, and they are placed nch is then excavated, in which barley irrigated and artificial heat supplied tes, when the females join hands and ing the blessings of Gouri on their g corn is then taken up, distributed, females to the men, who wear it in their thy family has its image, or at least division of the city. These and other the initiated, having been performed r

pring.
as the type of the earth.

several days within doors, they decorate the images, and prepare to carry them in procession to the lake. During these days of preparation, nothing is talked of but Gouri's departure from the palace; whether she will be as sumptuously apparelled as in the year gone by; whether an additional boat will be launched on the occasion; though not a few forget the goddess altogether in the recollection of the gazelle eyes (*mirg-naeni*) and serpentine locks (*nagini-zoolf*) * of the beauteous handmaids who are selected to attend her. At length the hour arrives, the martial nakaras give the signal "to the annonier without," and speculation is at rest when the guns on the summit of the castle of Ekling-gurh announce that Gour has commenced her excursion to the lake.

The cavalcade assembles on the magnificent terrace, and the Rana surrounded by his nobles, leads the way to the boats, of a form as primitive as that which conveyed the Argonauts to Colchis. The scenery is admirably adapted for these fetes, the ascent being gradual from the margin of the lake, which here forms a fine bay and gently rising to the crest of the ridge on which the palace and dwellings of the chiefs are built. Every turret and balcony is crowded with spectators, from the palace to the water's edge; and the ample flight of marble steps which intervene from the *Tripolia*, or triple portal, to the boats, is a dense mass of females in variegated robes, whose scarfs but half conceal their ebon tresses adorned with the rose and the jessamine. A more imposing or more exhilarating sight cannot be imagined than the entire population of a city thus assembled for the purpose of rejoicing; the countenance of every individual, from the prince to the peasant, dressed in smiles. Carry the eye to heaven, and it rests on a "sky without a cloud:" below is a magnificent lake, the even surface of the deep blue waters broken only by palaces of marble, whose arched piazzas are seen through the foliage of orange groves, plantain, and tamarind; while the vision is bounded by noble mountains, their peaks towering over each other, and composing an immense amphitheatre. Here the deformity of vice intrudes not; no object is degraded by inebriation; no tumultuous disorder or deafening clamour, but all await patiently, with eyes directed to the *Tripolia*, the appearance of Gouri. At length the procession is seen winding down the steep, and in the midst, borne on a *path*,† or throne, gorgeously arrayed in yellow robes, and blazing with "barbaric pearl and gold,"

* Here the Hindu mixes Persian with his Sanskrit, and produces the mongrel dialect *Hindee*.

† Tukht, Path, Persian and Sanskrit, alike meaning *board*.

the goddess appears; on either side the two beauties wave the silver *chamara* over her head, while the more favoured damsels act as harbingers, preceding her with wands of silver: the whole chaunting hymns. On her approach, the Rana, his chiefs and ministers rise and remain standing till the goddess is seated on her throne close to the water's edge, when all bow, and the prince and court take their seats in the boats. The females then form a circle around the goddess, unite hands, and with a measured step and various graceful inclinations of the body, keeping time by beating the palms at particular cadences, move round the image singing hymns, some in honour of the goddess of abundance, others on love and chivalry; and embodying little episodes of national achievements, occasionally sprinkled with *double entendre*, which excites a smile and significant nod from the chiefs, and an inclination of the head of the fair choristers. The festival being entirely female, not a single male mixed in the immense groups, and even Iswara himself, the husband of Gouri, attracts no attention, as appears from his ascetic or mendicant form begging his dole from the bounteous and universal *mother*. It is taken for granted that the goddess is occupied in bathing all the time she remains, and ancient tradition says death was the penalty of any male intruding on these solemnities; but the present prince deems them so fitted for amusement, that he has even instituted a second *Gangore*. Some hours are thus consumed, while easy and good-humoured conversation is carried on. At length, the ablutions over, the goddess is taken up, and conveyed to the palace with the same forms and state. The Rana and his chiefs then unmoor their boats, and are rowed round the margin of the lake, to visit in succession the other images of the goddess, around which female groups are chaunting and worshipping, as already described, with which ceremonies the evening closes, when the whole terminates with a grand display of fireworks, the *finale* of each of the three days dedicated to Gouri.

Considerable resemblance is to be discerned between this festival of *Gouri* and that in honour of the Egyptian Diana * at Bubastis, and Isis at Busiris, within the Delta of the Nile, of which Herodotus says: "They who celebrate those of Diana embark in vessels; the women strike their tabors, the men their flutes; the rest of both sexes clap their hands, and join in chorus. Whatever city they approach, the vessels are brought

* The Ephesian Diana is the twin sister of Gouri, and can have a Sanskrit derivation in *Devi-ana*, 'the goddess of food,' contracted *De-ana* though commonly Ana-de or Ana devi, and Anapurna, 'filling withfood,' or

on shore; the women use ungracious language, dance, and indelicately throw about their garments."* Wherever the rites of Isis prevailed, we find the boat introduced as an essential emblem in her worship, whether in the heart of Rajasthan, on the banks of the Nile, or in the woods of Germany. Bryant† furnishes an interesting account from Diodorus and Curtius, illustrated by drawings from Pocock, from the temple of Luxor, near Carnac, in the Thebaid, of "the ship of Isis," carrying an ark; and from a male figure therein, this learned person thinks it bears a mysterious allusion to the deluge. I am inclined to deem the personage in the ark *Osiris*, husband of Isis, the type of the sun arrived in the sign of Aries, (of which the rams' heads ornamenting both the prow and stem of the vessel are typical), the harbinger of the annual fertilizing inundation of the Nile: evincing identity of origin as an equinoctial festival with that of *Gouri* (Isis) of the *Indu-Scythic* races of Rajasthan.

The German Suevi adored Isis, and also introduced a ship in her worship, for which Tacitus is at a loss to account, and with his usual candour says, he has no materials whence to investigate the origin of a worship denoting the foreign origin of the tribe. This Isis of the Suevi was evidently a form of Ertha, the chief divinity of all the Saxon races, who, with her consort Teutates or Hesus‡ (*Mercury*), were the chief deities of both the Celtic and early Gothic races: the Budha and Ella of the Rajpoots; in short, *the earth*, § the prolific mother, the

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the nourisher, the name applied by "the mother of mankind," when she places the repast before the messenger of heaven:

"Heavenly stranger, please to taste
These bounties, which our Nourisher, from whom
All perfect good, unmeasured out, descends,
To us for food and for delight, hath caused
The earth to yield."

Paradise Lost, book v. 397—401.

* Euterpe, 283.

† Analysis of Ancient Mythology, p. 312.

‡ Hesus is probably derived from Eswara or Esa, *the* god. Toth was the Egyptian, and Teutates the Scandinavian, Mercury. I have elsewhere attempted to trace the origin of the Suevi, Su, or Yeuts of Yeutland (Jutland), to Yute, Gete, or Jit, of Central Asia, who carried thence the religion of Budha into India as well as to the Baltic. There is little doubt that the races called Jotner, Jæter, Jotuns, Jaets, and Yeuts, who followed the *Asi* into Scandinavia, migrated from the Jaxartes, the land of *the great Gete* (Massagetæ); the leader was supposed to be endued with supernatural powers, like the Budhist, called *Vediavan*, or magician, whose haunts adjoined Aria, the cradle of the magi. They are designated *Ari-punta*, under the sign of a serpent, the type of Budha; or Ari-manus, 'the foe of man.'

§ The German *Ertha*, to shew her kindred to the *Ella* of the Rajpoots had her car drawn by a cow, under which form the Hindus typify the earth (*prithwi*).

Isis of Egypt, the Ceres of Greece, the Ana-purana (*giver of food*) of the Rajpoots. On some ancient temples dedicated to this Hindu Ceres, we have sculptured on the frieze and pedestal of the columns the emblem of abundance, termed the *cama-cumpa*, or *vessel of desire*, a vase of elegant form, from which branches of the palm are gracefully pendent. Herodotus says that similar water-vessels, filled with wheat and barley, were carried in the festival of Isis; and all who have attended to Egyptian antiquities are aware, that the god Canopus is depicted under the form of a *water-jar*, or Nilometer, whose covering bears the head of Osiris.

To render the analogy perfect between the vessels emblematic of the Isis of the Nile and the Ganges, there is a festival sacred to the sage *Agastya*, who presides over the star Canopus, when the sun enters Virgo (Kanya). The *camacumpa* is then personified under the epithet *cumbhayoni*, and the votary is instructed to pour water into a sea-shell, in which having placed *white flowers and unground rice*, turning his face to *the south*, he offers it with this incantation: "Hail, CUMBHAYONI, born in the sight of MITRA and VARUNA, (the sun and water divinities), bright as the blosssom of the *cusa* (grass), who sprung from *Agni* (fire) and Maruta." By the prefix of *Ganga* (*the* river) to *Gouri*, we see that the *Gangore* festival is essentially sacred to a river-goddess, affording additional proof of the common origin of the rites of the Isis of Egypt and India.

The Egyptians, according to Plutarch, considered the Nile as flowing from Osiris, in like manner as the Hindu poet describes the fair Ganga flowing from the head of Iswara, which Sir W. Jones thus classically paints in his hymn to Ganga:

> "Above the reach of mortal ken,
> On blest Coilasa's top, where every stem
> Flowed with a vegetable gem,
> Mahesa stood, the dread and joy of men;
> While Parvati, to gain a boon,
> Fixed on his locks a beamy moon,
> And hid his frontal eye in jocund play,
> With reluctant sweet delay;
> All nature straight was looked in dim eclipse,
> Till Brahmins pure, with hallowed lips
> And warbled prayers, restored the day.
> When Ganga from his brow, with heavenly fingers prest,
> Sprang radiant, and descending, graced the caverns of the west."

Ganga, *the* river goddess, like the Nile, is the type of fertility, and like that celebrated stream, has her source amidst the eternal glaciers of Chundragiri or Somadri (the mountains of the moon); the higher peaks of the gigantic Himalaya, where Parvati is represented as ornamenting the tiara of Iswara "with

a beamy moon" In this metaphor, and in his title of Somanatha (*lord of the moon*), we again have evidence of Iswara, or Siva, after representing the sun having the sattellite moon as his ornament. * His Olympus, Cailasa, is studded with that majestic pine, the *cedar*; thence he is called *Cedar-nath*, 'lord of the cedar-trees.' The mysteries of Osiris and those of Eleusis † were of the same character, commemorative of the first germ of civilization, the culture of the *earth*, under a variety of names, Ertha, Isis, Diana, Ceres, Ella. It is a curious fact, that in the *terra cotta* images of Isis, frequently excavated about her temple at Pæstum, ‡ she holds in her right hand an exact representation of the Hindu lingam and yoni combined; and on the Indian expedition to Egypt, our Hindu soldiers deemed themselves amongst the altars of their own god Iswara (*Osiris*), from the abundance of his emblematic representatives.

In the festival of *Gangore*, as before mentioned, Iswara yields to his consort Gouri, and occupies an unimportant position near her at the water's edge, meanly clad, smoking intoxicating herbs, and, whether by accident or design, holding the stalk of an onion in full blossom as a mace or club—a plant regarded by some of the Egyptians with veneration, and held by the Hindus generally in detestation: and why they should on such an occasion thus degrade Iswara, I know not. Onion-juice is reluctantly taken when prescribed medicinally, as a powerful stimulant, by those who would reject spirituous liquors; and there are classes, as the *Aghori*, that worship Iswara in his most degraded form, who will not only devour raw flesh, but that of man; and to whom it is a matter of perfect indifference whether the victim was slaughtered or died a natural death. For the honour of humanity, such monsters are few in number; but that they practise these deeds I can testify, from a personal visit to their haunts, where I saw the cave of one of these Troglodyte monsters, in which by his own command he was inhumed; and which will remain closed, until curiosity and incredulity greater than mine may disturb the bones of the *Aghori* of Aboo.

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* Let it be borne in mind that *Indu*, *Chundra*, *Soma*, are all epithets for 'the moon,' or as *he* is classically styled (in an inscription of the famous Komarpal, which I discovered in Cheetore), "*Nisa Nath*," the ruler of darkness (*Nisa*).

† I have before remarked, that a Sanskrit etymology might be given to this word, in *Ella* and *Isa*, i.e. 'the goddess of the earth.'

‡ I was informed at Naples that four thousand of these were dug out of one spot, and I obtained while at Pæstum many fragments and heads of this goddess.

The *Omophagia*, or eating raw flesh with the blood, was a part of the secret mysteries of Osiris, in commemoration of the happy change in the condition of mankind from savage to civilized life, and intended to deter by disgust the return thereto.*

The Budhists pursued this idea to excess ; and in honour of *Ada-Iswara*, the *First*, who from his abode of Meru taught them the arts of agriculture, they altogether abandoned that type of savage life, the eating of the flesh of animals,† and confined themselves to the fruits of the earth. With these sectarian anti-idolaters, *who are almost all of Rajpoot descent*, the beneficent *Laksmi Sri* or *Gouri* is an object of sincere devotion.

But we must close this digression ; for such is the affinity between the mythology of India, Greece, and Egypt, that a bare recapitulation of the numerous surnames of the Hindu goddess of abundance would lead us beyond reasonable limits : all are forms of *Parvati* or *Doorga mata*, *Mater Montana* of Greece and Rome, an ephithet of Cybele or Vesta (according to Diodorus), as the guardian goddess of children, one of the characters of the Rajpoot "Mother of the Mount," whose shrine crowns many a pinacle in Mewar :‡ and who, with the prolific Gouri is amongst the amiable forms of the universal mother, whose functions are more varied and extensive than her sisters of Egypt and of Greece. Like the Ephesian Diana, Doorga wears the crescent on her head. She is also "the turreted Cybele," the guardian goddess of all places of strength (*doorga*),§ and like her she is drawn or carried by the lion. As Mata Jannavi '*the Mother of Births*,' she is *Juno Lucina*: as Pudma, '*whose throne is the lotus*,' she is the fair Isis of the Nile : as Tri-pura‖ '*governing the three worlds*,' and Atma-devi, '*the goddess of Souls*,' she is the *Hecate Triformis* of the Greeks. In short, her power is manifested under every form from the birth, and all the intermediate stages until death ; whether Jannavi, Gouri, or the terrific Cali, the Proserpine or Calligenia of the West.

Whoever desires to witness one of the most imposing and pleasing of Hindu festivals, let him repair to Oodipur, and behold the rites of the lotus-queen Pudma, the Gouri of Rajasthan.

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* Prichard's "Researches into the Physical History of Man," p. 369.

† The Baudhas of Tartary make no scruple of eating flesh.

‡ The vignette view in the valley of Oodipur shews one of these pinnacled temples dedicated to *Amba*.

§ *Doorga*, 'a fort ;' as *Suverna-doorg*, 'the golden castle,' &c. &c.

‖ Literally *Tripoli* 'the three cities,' *poora*, *polis*.

Cheyt (*Sudi*) 8th, which, being after the *ides*, is the 23rd of the month, is sacred to *Devi, the* goddess of every tribe; she is called *Asokashtami*, and being the ninth night (*noratri*) from the opening of their Floralia, they perform the *homa*, or sacrifice of fire. On this day, a grand procession takes place to the *Chougan*, and every Rajpoot worships his tutelary divinity.

Cheyt (*Sudi*) 9th is the anniversary of Rama, the grand beacon of the solar race, kept with great rejoicings at Oodipur. Horses and elephants are worshipped, and all the implements of war. A procession takes place to the Chougan, and the succeeding day, called the *Dussera* or tenth, is celebrated in Asoj.

The last days of spring are dedicated to *Camdeva*, the god of love. The scorching winds of the hot season are already beginning to blow, when Flora droops her head, and "the god of love turns anchorite;" yet the rose continues to blossom, and affords the most fragrant chaplets for the Rajpootnis, amidst all the heats of summer. Of this the queen of flowers, the jessamine (*chameli*) white and yellow, the magra, the champaca, that flourish in extreme heat, the ladies form garlands, which they twine in their dark hair, weave into bracelets, or wear as pendent collars. There is no city in the East where the adorations of the sex to *Camdeva* are more fervent than in "the city of the rising sun" (*Udyapura*). On the 13th and 14th of Cheyt they sing hymns handed down by the sacred bards:—

"Hail, god of the flowery bow!* hail, warrior with a fish on thy banner! hail, powerful divinity, who causeth the firmness of the sage to forsake him!"

Glory to Madana, to Cama,† the god of gods; to Him by whom Brahma, Vishnu, Siva, and Indra are filled with emotions of rapture!"—*Bhavishya Purana.*‡

Vysakh. There is but one festival in this month of any note, when the grand procession denominated the "*Nakarra ca aswari*," (from the equestrians being summoned, as already described, by the grand kettle-drums from the Tripolia), takes place; and this is against the canons of the Hindu church, being instituted by the present Rana in S. 1847, a memorable year in the calender. It was in this year, on the 2nd of Vysakh, that he commanded a repetition of the rites of Gouri, by the name of the *Little Gangore*; but this act of impiety

* Cupid's bow is formed of a garland of flowers.

† *Madana*, he who intoxicates with desire (*cama*), both epithets of the god of love. The festivals on the 13th and 14th are called *Madana triodasi* (the thirteenth) and *chaturdasi* (fourteenth).

‡ *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. p. 278.

was marked by a sudden rise of the waters of the Peshola, the bursting of the huge embankment, and the inundation of the lake's banks, to the destruction of one-third of the capital: life, property, mansions, trees, all were swept away in the tremendous rush of water, whose ravages are still marked by the site of streets and bazars now converted into gardens or places of recreation, containing thousands of acres within the walls, subdivided by hedges of the *cactus*, the natural fence of Mewar, which alike thrives in the valley or covers the most barren spots of her highest hills. But although the superstitious look grave, and add that a son was also taken from him on this very day, yet the Rana persists in maintaining the fete he established: the barge is manned, he and his chiefs circumnavigate the Peshola, regale on majaom, and terrify Varuna (the water-god) with the pyrotechnic exhibitions.

Although the court calendar of Oodipur notices only those festivals on which state processions occur, yet there are many minor fetes, which are neither unimportant nor uninteresting. We shall enumerate a few, both in Vysakh, Jeyt, and Asar, which are blank as to the "*Nakarra Aswari.*"

On the 29th Vysakh, there is a fast common to India peculiar to the women, who perform certain rites under the sacred fig-tree (the *vata* or *peepul*), to preserve them from widowhood; and hence the name of the fast *Savitri-vrata*.

On the second of Jeyt, when the sun is in the zenith, the Rajpoot ladies commemorate the birth of the sea-born goddess *Rambha*, the queen of the naiads or *Apsaras*,* whose birth, like that of Venus, was from the froth of the waters; and hence the Rajpoot bards designate all the fair messengers of heaven by the name of Apsaras, who summon the "chosen" from the field of battle, and convey him to the "mansion of the sun."†

On the 6th of Jeyt, the ladies have another festival called the *Aranya shashti*, because on this day those desirous of offspring walk in the woods (*aranya*) to gather and eat certain herbs. Sir W. Jones has remarked the analogy between this and the *Druidic* ceremony of gathering the misletoe, (also on the *shashti*, or *6th day of the moon*), as a preservative against sterility.

Asar, the initiative month of the periodical rains, has no particular festivity at Oodipur, though in other parts of India

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* *Ap*, 'water,' and *sara*, 'froth or essence.'

† The Romans held the calends of June (generally Jeyt) sacred to the goddess CARNA, significant of the sun-carneus was the sun-god of the Celts, and a name of Apollo at Sparta, and other Grecian cities.

The Carneia was a festival in honour of Apollo.

the *Ratha yatra*, or procession of the car of Vishnu or *Jagannatha* (lord of the universe) is well known: this is on the 2d and the 11th, "the *night of the gods*," when Vishnu (the sun) reposes four months.

Sawun, classically *Sravana*. There are two important festivals, with processions, in this month.

The third, emphatically called "*the* teej," (*third*), is sacred to the mountain goddess *Parvati*, being the day on which, after long austerities, she was re-united to Siva: she accordingly declared it holy, and proclaimed that whoever invoked her on that day should possess whatever was desired. The *teej* is accordingly reverenced by the women, and the husbandman of Rajasthan, who deems it a most favourable day to take possession of land, or to re-inhabit a deserted dwelling. When on the expulsion of the predatory powers from the devoted lands of Mewar, proclamations were disseminated far and wide, recalling the expatriated inhabitants, they shewed their love of country by obedience to the summons. Collecting their goods and chattels, they congregated from all parts, but assembled at a common rendezvous to make their entry to the *bapotu*, 'land of their sires,' on the *teej* of Sawun. On this fortunate occasion, a band of three hundred men, women, and children, with colours flying, drums beating, the females taking precedence with brass vessels of water on their heads, and chaunting the *sulailea*, (song of joy), entered the town of Kapasan, to revisit their desolate dwellings, and return thanks on their long-abandoned altars to *Parvati** for a happiness they had never contemplated.

Red garments are worn by all classes on this day, and at Jeypur clothes of this colour are presented by the Raja to all the chiefs. At that court the teej is kept with more honour than at Oodipur. An image of Parvati on the teej, richly attired, is borne on a throne by women chaunting hymns, attended by the prince and his nobles. On this day, fathers present red garments and stuffs to their daughters.

The 5th is the *Nagpanchami*, or day set apart for the propitiation of the chief of the reptile race, the Naga or serpent. Few subjects have more occupied the notice of the learned world than the mysteries of Ophite worship, which are to be traced wherever there existed a remnant of civilization, or indeed of humanity; among the savages of the savanahs†

* The story of the vigils of Parvati, preparatory to her being re-united to her lord, consequent to her sacrifice as *Sati*, is the counterpart of the Grecian fable of Cybele, her passion for, and marriage with, the youth Atys or *Papas*, the *Baba* or universal father, of the Hindus.

† How did a word of Persian growth come to signify "the boundless brake" of the new world?

of America, and the magi of Fars, with whom it was the type of evil,—their Ahrimanes.* The *Nagas*, or serpent-genii of the Rajpoots, have a semi-human structure, precisely as Diodorus describes the snake-mother of the Scythæ, in whose country originated this serpent-worship, engrafted on the tenets of Zerdusht, of the *Puranas* of the priesthood of Egypt, and on the fables of early Greece. Dupuis, Volney, and other expounders of the mystery, have given an astronomical solution to what they deem a varied ramification of an ancient fable, of which that of Greece, "the dragon guarding the fruits of Hesperides," may be considered the most elegant version. Had these learned men seen those ancient sculptures in India, which represent "the fall," they might have changed their opinion. The traditions of the Jains or Budhists (originating in the land of the Takyacs,† or Turkishthan) assert the creation of the human species in pairs, called *joogal*, who fed of the ever-fructifying *calpa-vriksha*, which possesses all the characters of the Tree of Life, like it bearing

"Ambrosial fruit of vegetable gold,"

which was termed *amrita*, and rendered them immortal. A drawing, brought by Colonel Coombs, from a sculptured column in a cave temple in the south of India, represents the first pair at the foot of this ambrosial tree, and a serpent entwined among the heavily laden boughs, presenting to them some of the fruit from his mouth. The tempter appears to be at that part of his discourse, when

"————————his words, replete with guile,
Into her heart too easy entrance won;
Fixed on the fruit she gazed."

This is a curious subject to be engraved on an ancient pagan temple; if Jain or Budhist, the interest would be considerably enhanced. On this festival, at Oodipur, as well as throughout India, they strew particular plants about the threshold, to prevent the entrance of reptiles.

Rakhi.—This festival, which is held on the last day of Sawun, was instituted in honour of the good genii, when Durvasa the sage instructed Salone (the genius or nymph presiding over the month of Sawun,) to bind on *rakhis*, or bracelets, as charms to avert evil. The ministers of religion and females alone are privileged to bestow these charmed wristbands. The ladies of Rajasthan, either by their handmaids or the family priests, send a bracelet as the token of their esteem to such as they adopt as brothers, who return gifts in acknowledgment

* *Ari*, 'a foe;' *manoos*, 'man.'
† This is the snake-race of India, the foes of the Pandus.

of the honour. The claims thus acquired by the fair are far stronger than those of consanguinity : for illustration of which I may refer to an incident already related in the annals of this house. Sisters also present their brothers with clothes on this day, who make an offering of gold in return.*

This day is hailed by the Brahmins as indemnifying them for their expenditure of silk and spangles, with which they decorate the wrists of all who are likely to make a proper return.

Bhadoon.—On the 3d there is a grand procession to the Chougan ; and *the* 8th, or Ashtami, is the birth of Krishna, which will be described at large in an account of Nathdwara. There are several holidays in this month, when the periodical rains are in full descent ; but that on the last but one (sudi 14, or 29th) is the most remarkable.

On this day † commences the worship of the ancestorial manes (the Pitriswara, or *father-gods*) of the Rajpoots, which continues for fifteen days. The Rana goes to the cemetery at Ara, and performs at the cenotaph of each of his forefathers the rites enjoined, consisting of ablutions, prayers, and the hanging of garlands of flowers, and leaves sacred to the dead, on their monuments. Every chieftain does the same amongst the altars of the "great ancients" (*burra boora*) ; or, if absent from their estates, they accompany their sovereign to Ara.

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* I returned from three to five pieces of gold for the *rakhis* sent by my adopted sisters ; from one of whom, the sister of the Rana, I annually received this pledge by one of her handmaids ; three of them I have yet in my possession, though I never saw the donor, who is now no more. I had, likewise, some presented through the family priest, from the Boondi queen-mother, with whom I have conversed for hours, though she was invisible to me ; and from the ladies of rank of the chieftains' families, but one of whom I ever beheld, though they often called upon me for the performance of brotherly offices in consequence of such tie. There is a delicacy in this custom, with which the bond uniting the cavaliers of Europe to the service of the fair, in the days of chivalry, will not compare.

† Sacred to Vishnu, with the title of *Ananta*, or infinite—*Bhavishat-tara*. (See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. p. 291.) Here Vishnu appears as 'lord of the manes.'

CHAPTER XXII.

Festivals continued.—Adoration of the sword: its Scythic origin.—The Dussera, or military festival: its Scythic origin.—Toruns or triumphal arcs.—Ganesa of the Rajpoots and Janus of the Romans.—Worship of arms: of the magic brand of Mewar, compared with the enchanted sword, Tirsing, of the Edda.—Birth of Ku-mara, the Rajpoot Mars, compared with the Roman divinity.—Birth of Ganga: her analogy to Pallas.—Adoration of the moon.—Worship of Lacshmi, or Fortune,—of Yama, or Pluto.—Dewali, or festival of Lamps, in Arabia, in China, in Egypt, and in India.—Annacuta and Jalyatra.—Festivals sacred to the Ceres and Neptune of the Hindus.—Festival of the Autumnal Equinox.—Reflections on the universal worship of the elements, Fire, Light, Water.—Festival sacred to Mithras or Vishnu, as the sun.—The Phallus: its etymology.—Rajpoot doctrine of the Triad.—Symbols Vishnu, as the sun-god: his messenger Garuda, the eagle: his charioteer Aruna, or the dawn.—Sons of Aruna.—Fable analogous to that of Icarus.—Rites of Vishnu on the Vernal Equinox and Summer Solstice.—Dolayatra, or Festival of the Ark: compared with the ark of Osiris, and Argonautic expedition of the Greeks.—Etymology of Argonaut.—Ethiopia the Lanka of the Hindus.—Their sea-king, Sagara.—Rama or Ramesa, chief of the Cushite races of India.—Ramesa, of the Rajpoots and Rameses of Egypt compared.—Reflections.

KHARGA SHAPNA, *Worship of the Sword.*—The festival in which this imposing rite occurs is the *Noratri*,* sacred to the god of war, commencing on the first of the month Asoj. It is essentially martial, and confined to the Rajpoot, who on the departure of the monsoon finds himself at liberty to indulge his passion whether for rapine or revenge, both which in these tropical regions are necessarily suspended during the rains. Arguing from the order of the passions, we may presume that the first objects of emblematic worship were connected with war, and we accordingly find the highest reverence paid to arms by every nation of antiquity. The Scythic warrior of

* *Noratri* may be interpreted the *nine days'* festival, or the '*new night.*'

Central Asia, the intrepid Gete, admitted no meaner representative of the god of battle than his own scimitar.* He worshipped it, he swore by it; it was buried with him, in order that he might appear before the martial divinity in the other world as became his worshipper on earth: for the Gete of Transoxiana, from the earliest ages, not only believed in the soul's immortality, and in the doctrine of rewards and punishments hereafter, but, according to the father of history, he was a monotheist; of which fact he has left a memorable proof in the punishment of the celebrated Anacharsis, who, on his return from a visit to Thales and his brother philosophers of Greece, attempted to introduce into the land of the Sacæ (*Sakatai*) the corrupted polytheism of Athens.

If we look westward from this the central land of earliest civilization, to Dacia, Thrace, Pannonia, the seats of the Thyssagetæ or western Getes, we find the same form of adoration addressed to the emblem of Mars, as mentioned by Xenophon in his memorable *retreat*, and practised by Alaric and his Goths, centuries afterwards, in the Acropolis of Athens. If we transport ourselves to the shores of Scandinavia, amongst the Cimbri and Getes of Jutland, to the *Ultima Thule*, wherever the name of Gete prevails, we shall find the same adoration paid by the Getic warrior to his sword.

The Frisian Frank, also of Gothic race, adhered to this worship and transmitted it with the other rites of the Getic warrior of the Jaxartes; such as the adoration of the steed, sacred to the sun, the great god of the Massagetæ, as well as of the Rajpoot, who sacrificed it at the annual feast, or with his arms and wife burnt it on his funeral pile. Even the kings of the '*second race*' kept up the religion of their Scythic sires from the Jaxartes, and the bones of the war-horse of Chilperic were exhumed with those of the monarch. These rites, as well as those long-cherished chivalrous notions, for which the Salian Franks have ever been conspicuous, had their birth in Central

* "It was natural enough," says Gibbon, "that Scythians should adore with peculiar devotion the god of war; but as they were incapable of forming either an abstract idea, or a corporeal representation, they worshipped their tutelar diety under the symbol of an iron cimeter. If the rites of Scythia were practised on this solemn occasion, (*a*) a lofty altar, or rather pile of faggots, three hundred yards in length and in breadth, was raised in a spacious plain; and the sword of Mars was placed erect on the summit of this rustic altar, which was annually consecrated by the blood of sheep, horses, and of the hundredth captive"—*Gibbon's Roman Empire*, vol. vi. p. 43.

(*a*) Attila dictating the terms of peace with the envoys of Constantinople, at the city of Margues, in Upper Mœsia.

Asia ; for though contact with the more polished Arab softened the harsh character of the western warrior, his thirst for glory, the romantic charm which fed his passion, and his desire to please the fair, he inherited from his ancestors on the shores of the Baltic, which were colonized from the Oxus. Whether Charlemagne addressed his sword as *Joyeuse*,* or the Scandinavian hero Angantyr as the enchanted blade *Tirsing* (*Hialmar's bane*), each came from one common origin, the people which invented the custom of *Kharga Shapna*, or 'adoration of the sword.' But neither the faulchion "made by the dwarfs for Suafurlama," nor the redoubted sword of Bayard with which he dubbed the first Francis,—not even the enchanted brand of Ariosto's hero, can for a moment compare with the double-edged *khanda* (scimitar) annually worshipped by the chivalry of Mewar. Before I descant on this monstrous blade, I shall give an abstract of the ceremonies on each of the *nine days* sacred to the god of war.

On the 1st of Asoj, after fasting, ablution, and prayer, on the part of the prince and his household, the double-edged *khanda* is removed from the hall of arms (*ayudhasala*), and having received the homage (*pooja*) of the court, it is carried in procession to the *Kishenpol* (gate of Kishen), where it is delivered to the *Raj Jogi*,† the *Mahunts*, and band of *Jogis* asssembled in front of the temple of Devi, '*the* goddess,' adjoining the portal of Kishen.‡ By these, the monastic militant adorers of Heri, *the god of battle*, the brand emblematic of the divinity is placed§ on the altar before the image of his divine consort. At three in the afternoon the *nakarras*, or grand kettle-drums, proclaim from the Tripolia‖ the signal for the assemblage of the chiefs with their retainers ; and the Rana and his cavalcade proceed direct to the stables, when a buffalo is sacrificed in honour of the war-horse. Thence the procession moves to the temple of Devi, where the Raja Krishen (*Godi*), has preceded. Upon this, the Rana seats himself close to the *Raj Jogi*, presents two pieces of silver and a coco-nut, performs homage to the sword (*kharga*), and returns to the palace.

Asoj 2d. In similar state he proceeds to the Chougan, their *Champ de Mars*, where a buffalo is sacrificed ; and on the same day another buffalo victim is felled by the nervous arm

* St. Palaye, Memoirs of Ancient Chivalry, p. 305.

† *Raj Jogi* is the chief of the ascetic warriors ; the *Mahunts* are commanders. More will be said of the singular society when we discuss the religious institutions of Mewar.

‡ The god Krishna is called *Kishen* in the dialects.

§ This is the *shapna* of the sword, literally its *inauguration* or *induction*, for the purposes of *adoration*.

‖ *Tripo-lia*, or triple portal.

of a Rajpoot, near the *Torunpol*, or triumphal gate. In the evening the Rana goes to the temple of Amba Mata, the universal mother, when several goats and buffaloes bleed to the goddess.

The 3d.—Procession to the Chougan, when another buffalo is offered; and in the afternoon five buffaloes and two rams are sacrificed to *Harsid Mata.*

On the 4th, as on every one of the nine days, the first visit is to the *Champ de Mars*: the day opens with the slaughter of a buffalo. The Rana proceeds to the temple of Devi, when he worships the sword, and the standard of the *Raj Jogi*, to whom, as the high-priest of Siva, *the god of war*, he pays homage, and makes offering of sugar, and a garland of roses. A buffalo having been previously fixed to a stake near the temple, the Rana sacrifices him with his own hand, by piercing him from his travelling throne (raised on men's shoulders and surrounded by his vassals) with an arrow. In the days of his strength, he seldom failed almost to bury the feather in the flank of the victim; but on the last occasion, his enfeebled arm made him exclaim with Prithwi-Raj, when, captive and blind, he was brought forth to amuse the Tatar despot: "I draw not the bow as in the days of yore."

On the 5th, after the usual sacrifice at the Chougan, and an elephant-fight, the procession marches to the temple of *Asapurna* (Hope); a buffalo and a ram are offered to the goddess adored by all the Rajpoots, and the tutelary divinity of the Chohans. On this day, the lives of some victims are spared at the intercession of the Nuggur-Seth, or chief-magistrate, and those of his faith, the Jains.

On the 6th, the Rana visits the Chougan, but makes no sacrifice. In the afternoon, prayers and victims to Devi; and in the evening the Rana visits *Bikhiari Nath*, the chief of the *Kanfora Jogis*, or split-ear ascetics.

The 7th.—After the daily routine at the Chougan, and sacrifices to Devi (the goddess of destruction), the chief equerry is commanded to adorn the steeds with their new caparisons, and lead them to be bathed in the lake. At night, the sacred fire (*homa*) is kindled, and a buffalo and a ram are sacrificed to Devi; the Jogis are called up and feasted on boiled rice and sweetmeats. On the conclusion of this day, the Rana and his chieftains visit the hermitage of Sukria Baba, an anchorite of the Jogi sect.

8th.—There is the *homa*, or fire-sacrifice in the palace. In the afternoon, the prince, with a select cavalcade, proceeds to

the village of Sameena, beyond the city-walls, and visits a celebrated Gosaen.*

9th.—There is no morning procession. The horses from the royal stables, as well as those of the chieftains, are taken to the lake, and bathed by their grooms, and on return from purification they are caparisoned in their new housings, led forth, and receive the homage of their riders, and the Rana bestows a largess on the master of the horse, the equerries, and grooms. At three in the afternoon, the nakarras having thrice sounded, the whole state insignia, under a select band, proceed to Mount Matachal, and bring home the sword. When its arrival in the court of the palace is announced, the Rana advances and receives it with due homage from the hands of the *Raj Jogi*, who is presented with a khelat; while the *mahunt*, who has performed all the austerities during the nine days, has his *patera*† filled with gold and silver coin. The whole of the Jogis are regaled, and presents are made to their chiefs. The elephants and horses again receive homage, and the sword, the shield, and spear, are worshipped within the palace. At three in the morning the prince takes repose.

The 10th, or *Dussera*,‡ is a festival universally known in India, and respected by all classes, although entirely military, being commemorative of the day on which the deified Rama commenced his expedition to Lanka for the redemption of Seeta; § the "tenth of Asoj" is consequently deemed by the Rajpoot a fortunate day for warlike enterprize. The day commences with a visit from the prince or chieftain to his spiritual guide. Tents and carpets are prepared at the Chougan or Matachal mount, where the artillery is sent; and in the afternoon, the Rana, his chiefs and their retainers, repair to the *field of Mars*, worship the *kaijri* tree, liberate the *niltach* or jay (sacred to Rama), and return amidst a discharge of guns.

* On this day, sons visit and pay adoration to their fathers. The diet is chiefly of vegetables and fruits. Brahmins with their unmarried daughters are feasted, and receive garments called *choonduree* from their chiefs.

† The Jogi's *patera* is not so revolting as that of their divinity Hari (the god of war), which is the human *cranium*; this is a hollow gourd.

‡ From *dus* or *dos*, the numeral *ten*: *the* tenth.

§ In this ancient story we are made acquainted with the distant maritime wars which the princes of India carried on. Even supposing Ravana's abode to be the insular Ceylon, he must have been a very powerful prince to equip an armament sufficiently numerous to carry off from the remote kingdom of *Koshula* the wife of the great king of the Suryas. It is most improbable that a petty king of Ceylon could wage equal war with a potentate who held the chief dominion of India; whose father, *Dasaratha*, drove his victorious car (*ratha*) over every region (*desa*), and whose intercourse with the countries beyond the Brahmaputra is distinctly to be traced in the *Ramayana*.

11th. In the morning, the Rana, with all the state insignia, the kettle-drums sounding *in the rear*, proceeds towards the Matachal mount, and takes the muster of his troops, amidst discharges of cannon, tilting, and display of horsemanship. The spectacle is imposing even in the decline of this house. The hilarity of the party, the diversified costume, the various forms, colours, and decorations of the turbans, in which some have the heron plume, or sprigs from some shrub sacred to the god of war; the clusters of lances, shining matchlocks, and black bucklers, the scarlet housings of the steeds, and waving pennons, recall forcibly the glorious days of the devoted Sanga, or the immortal Pertap, who on such occasions collected round the black *changi* and crimson banner of Mewar a band of sixteen thousand of his own kin and clan, whose lives were their lord's and their country's. The shops and bazars are ornamented with festoons of flowers and branches of trees, while the costliest cloths and brocades are extended on screens, to do honour to their prince; the *torun* (or triumphal arch) is placed before the tent, on a column of which he places one hand as he alights, and before entering makes several circumambulations. All present offer their *nuzzurs* to the prince, the artillery fires, and the bards raise "the song of praise," celebrating the glories of the past; the fame of Samra, who fell with thirteen thousand of his kin on the Caggar; of Ursi and his twelve brave sons, who gave themselves as victims for the salvation of Cheetore; of Koombho, Lakha, Sanga, Pertap, Umra, Raj, all descended of the blood of Rama, whose exploits, three thousand five hundred years before, they are met to celebrate. The situation of Matachal is well calculated for such a spectacle, as indeed is the whole ground from the palace through the Delhi portal to the mount, on which is erected one of the several castles commanding the approaches to the city. The fort is dedicated to *Mata*, though it would not long remain stable (*achal*) before a battery of thirty-six pounders. The guns are drawn up about the termination of the slope of the natural glacis; the Rana and his court remain on horseback half up the ascent; and while every chief or vassal is at liberty to leave his ranks, and "witch the world with noble horsemanship," there is nothing tumultuous, nothing offensive in their mirth.

The steeds purchased since the last festival are named, and as the cavalcade returns, their grooms repeat the appellations of each as the word is passed by the master of the horse; as *Raj Raj*, 'the royal steed;' *Hymor*, 'the chief of horses;' *Manika*, 'the gem;' *Bujra*, 'the thunderbolt,' &c. &c. On returning to the palace, gifts are presented by the Rana to his chiefs. The Chohan chief of Kotario claims the apparel which

his prince wears on this day, in token of the fidelity of his ancestor to the minor, Oody Sing, in Akber's wars. To others, a fillet or *balabund* for the turban is presented; but all such compliments are regulated by precedent or immediate merit.

Thus terminates the *noratri* festival sacred to the god of war, which in every point of view is analogous to the autumnal festival of the Scythic warlike nations, when these princes took the muster of their armies, and performed the same rites to the great celestial luminary.* I have presented to the antiquarian reader these details, because it is in minute particulars that analogous customs are detected. Thus the temporary *torun*, or triumphal arch, erected in front of the tent at *Mount Matachal*, would scarcely claim the least notice, but that we discover even in this emblem the origin of the triumphal arches of antiquity, with many other rites which may be traced to the Indo-Scythic races of Asia. The *torun* in its original form consisted of two columns and an architrave, constituting the number *three*, sacred to Hari, the god of war. In the progress of the arts, the architrave gave way to the Hindu arch, which consisted of two or more ribs without the key-stone, the apex being the perpendicular junction of the archi-vaults; nor is the arc of the *torun* semicircular, or any segment of a circle, but with that graceful curvature which stamps with originality one of the arches of the Normans, who may have brought it from their ancient seats on the Oxus, whence it may also have been carried within the Indus. The cromlech, or trilithic altar in the centre of all those monuments called Druidic, is most probably *toruns*, sacred to the Sun-god Belenus, like Hur, or Bal-siva, the god of battle, to whom as soon as a temple is raised, the *torun* is erected, and many of those are exquisitely beautiful.

An interesting essay might be written on *portes* and *toruns*, their names and attributes, and the genii presiding as their guardians. Amongst all the nations of antiquity, the portal has had its peculiar veneration: to pass it was a privilege regarded as a mark of honour. The Jew Haman, in the true

* "A la premiere lune de chaque annee, tous ces officiers, grands et petits, tenoient une assemblee generale a la cour du Tanjou, et y faiscient un sacrifice solemnel: a la cinquieme lune, ils s'assembloient a Lumtching, ou ils sacrifioient au ciel, a la terre, aux esprits, et aux ancetress. Il se tenoit encore une grande assemblee a Tai lin dans l'automne, parce qu'alors les chevaux etoient plus gras, et on y faisoit en meme-tems le denombrement des hommes et des troupeaux; mais tous les jours le Tanjou sortoit de sen camp, le matin pour adorer le soleil, et le soir la lune. Sa tente etoit placee a gauche, comme le cote le plus honorable chez ces peples, et regardoit le couchant."—*Avant J. C. 209.—L' Histoire Generale des Huns*, vol. i. p. 24.

oriental style, took post at the king's gate as an inexpugnable position. The most pompous court in Europe takes its title from its *porte*,* where, as at Oodipur, all alight. The *tripolia*, or triple portal, the entry to the magnificent terrace in front of the Rana's palace, consists, like the Roman arcs of triumph, of three arches, still preserving the numeral sacred to the god of battle, one of whose titles is TRIPOORI, which may be rendered *Tripoli*, or lord of the *three places of abode*, or cities, but applied in its extensive sense to the three worlds, heaven, earth, and hell. From the Sanscrit *Pola*, we have the Greek *Pules* a gate, or pass; and in the guardian or *Polloh*, the *Puloros* or *porter*; while to this *langue mere* our own language is indebted, not only for its portes and porters, but its doors (*dwara*). *Pylos* signified also a pass; so in Sanscrit these natural barriers are called *Palas* and hence the poetical epithet applied to the aboriginal mountain tribes of Rajasthan, namely, Palipati and Pal-indra, '*lords of the pass*.'

One of the most important of the Roman divinities was Janus, whence *Januæ* or portals, of which he was the guardian. A resemblance between the Ganesa of the Hindu pantheon and the Roman Janus has been pointed out by Sir W. Jones, but his analogy extended little beyond nominal similarity. The fable of the birth of *Ganesa* furnishes us with the origin of the worship of Janus, and as it has never been given, I shall transcribe it from the bard Chund. Ganesa is the chief of the genii† attendant on the god of war, and was expressly formed by Oomia, the Hindu Juno, to guard the entrance of her caverned retreat in the Caucasus, where she took refuge from the tyranny of the lord of Cailasa (Olympus), whose throne is fixed amidst eternal snows on the summit of this peak of the gigantic Caucasus (*Kho-kasa*).‡

"Strife arose between Mahadeva and the faithful Parvati: she fled to the mountains and took refuge in a cave. A crystal fountain tempted her to bathe, but shame was awakened; she dreaded being seen. Rubbing her frame, she made an image of man; with her nail she sprinkled it with the water of life, and placed it as guardian at the entrance of the cave." Engrossed

* Hence may be found a good etymology of *janizary*, the guardian of the *serai*, a title left by the lords of Eastern Rome for the Porte.

† In Sanskrit *gen* (pronounced as *gun*), the *jin* of the Persians, transmuted to *genii*; here is another instance in point of the alternation of the initial, and softened by being transplanted from Indo-Scythia to Persia, as *Ganes* was *Janus* at Rome.

‡ The *Casia Montes* of Ptolemy.

with the recollection of Parvati,* Siva went to *Kartika* † for tidings of his mother, and together they searched each valley and recess, and at length reached the spot where a figure was placed at the entrance of a cavern. As the chief of the gods prepared to explore this retreat, he was stopped by the *Polioh*. In a rage he struck off his head with his discus (*chukra*), and in the gloom discovered the object of his search. Surprised and dismayed, she demanded how he obtained ingress: "Was there no guardian at the entrance?" The furious Siva replied, that he had cut off his head. On hearing this, the mountain-goddess was enraged, and weeping, exclaimed, "You have destroyed my child." The god, determined to recall him to life, decollated a young elephant, replaced the head he had cut off, and naming him *Ganesa* decreed that in every resolve his name should be the first invoked.

Invocation of the Bard to Ganesa.

"Oh, Ganesa! thou art a mighty lord; thy single tusk ‡ is beautiful, and demands the tribute of praise from the Indra of song.§ Thou art the chief of the human race; the destroyer of unclean spirits; the remover of fevers, whether daily or tertian. Thy bard sounds thy praise; let my work be accomplished!"

Thus Ganesa is the chief of the *Dii minores* of the Hindu pantheon, as the etymology of the word indicates,‖ and like Janus, was entrusted with the gates of heaven; while of his right to preside over peace and war, the fable related affords abundant testimony. Ganesa is the first invoked and propitiated ¶ on every undertaking, whether warlike or pacific. The warrior implores his counsel; the banker indites his name at the commencement of every letter; the architect places his

* *Parvati* 'the mountain goddess,' was called Sati, or 'the faithful' in her former birth. She became the mother of *Januvi*, the river (*gunga*) goddess.

† Kartika, the son of Siva and Parvati, the Jupiter and Juno of the Hindu theogony, has the leading of the armies of the gods, delegated by his father; and his mother has presented to him her peacock, which is the steed of this warlike divinity. He is called Kartika (*Kartikeya*) from being nursed by six females called *Krittika*, who inhabit six of the seven stars composing the constellation of the Wain, or Ursa Major. Thus the Hindu Mars, born of Jupiter and Juno, and nursed by Ursa Major, is, like all other theogonies, an astronomical allegory. There is another legend of the birth of Mars, which I shall give in the text.

‡ This elephant-headed divinity has but one tusk.

§ The bard thus modestly designates himself.

‖ Chief (*esa*, *isa*, or *iswara*) of the gana (*genii*) or *attendants* on Siva.

¶ So he was at Rome, and his statue held the keys of heaven in his right hand, and, like Ganesa, a rod (*the unkoos*) in his left.

image in the foundation of every edifice; and the figure of Ganesa is either sculptured or painted at the door of every house as a protection against evil. Our Hindu Janus is represented as four-armed, and holding the disc (*chukra*), the war shell, the club, and the lotus. Ganesa is not, however, *bifrons*, like the Roman guardian of portals. In every transaction he is *ad*, or the first, though the Hindu does not, like the Roman, open the year with his name. I shall conclude with remarking, that one of the portes of every Hindu city is named the *Ganesa Pol*, as well as some conspicuous entrance to the palace: thus Oodipur has its Ganesa *dwara*, who also gives a name to the hall the Ganesa *deori*, and his shrine will be found on the ascent of every sacred mount, as at Aboo, where it is placed close to a fountain on the abrupt face about twelve hundred feet from the base. There is likewise a hill sacred to him in Mewar called *Ganesa Gir*, tantamount to the *mons janiculum* of the eternal city. The companion of this divinity is a rat, who indirectly receives a portion of homage, and with full as much right as the bird emblematic of Minerva.

We have abandoned the temple of the warlike divinity (*Devi*), the sword of Mars, and the triumphal *torun*, to invoke Ganesa. It will have been remarked that the Rana aids himself to dismount by placing his hand on one of the columns of the *torun*, an act which is pregnant with a martial allusion, as are indeed the entire ceremonials of the "worship of the sword."

It might be deemed folly to *trace* the rites and superstitions of so remote an age and nation to Central Asia; but when we find the superstitions of the Indo-Scythic Gete prevailing within the Indus, in Dacia, and on the shores of the Baltic, we may assume their common origin; for although the worship of arms has prevailed among all warlike tribes, there is a peculiar respect paid to the sword amongst the Getic races. The Greeks and Romans paid devotion to their arms, and swore by them. The Greeks brought their habits from ancient Thrace, where the custom existed of presenting as the great gift, that peculiar kind of sword called *acinaces*, which we may not derive from the Indo-Scythic or Sanscrit *asi*, a sword. When Xenophon, on his retreat, reached the Court of Seuthes he agreed to attach his corps to the service of the Thracian. His officers on introduction, in the true oriental style, presented their *nuzzurs*, or gifts of homage, excepting Xenophon, who, deeming himself too exalted to make the common offering, presented his sword, probably only to be touched in recognition of his services being accepted. The most powerful oath of the Rajpoot, next to his sovereign's throne (*gadi ca an*, is by his arms, *ya sil ca an*, 'by this weapon!' as, suiting the action to the

word, he puts his hand on his dagger, never absent from his girdle. *Dhal turwar ca an*, 'by my sword and shield!' The shield is deemed the only fit vessel or salver on which to present gifts; and accordingly at a Rajpoot court, shawls, brocades, scarfs, and jewels are always spread before the guest on bucklers.*

In the Runic "incantation of Hervor," daughter of Angantyr, at the tomb of her father, she invokes the dead to deliver the enchanted brand *Trising*, or "*Hialmar's bane*," which according to Getic custom, was buried in his tomb; she adjures him and his brothers "*by all their arms, their shields, &c.*" It is depicted with great force, and, translated, would deeply interest a Rajpoot, who might deem it the spell by which the *Khanda* of Hamira, which he annually worships, was obtained.

INCANTATION.

Hervor. "Awake, Angantyr! Hervor, the only daughter of thee and Suafu, doth awaken thee. Give me out of the tomb the tempered sword which the dwarfs made for Suafurlama.

Can none of Eyvor's,† sons speak with me out of the habitations of the dead? Hervardur,† Hurvardur?"†

The tomb at length opens, the inside of which appears on fire, and a reply is sung from within:

Angantyr. "Daughter Hervor, full of spells to raise the dead, why dost thou call so? I was not buried either by father or friends; two who lived after me got *Tirsing*, one of whom is now in possession thereof."

Hervor.—"The dead shall never enjoy rest unless Angantyr deliver me Tirsing, that cleaveth shields, and killed Hialmar."‡

Angantyr. "Young maid, thou art of manlike courage, who dost rove by night to tombs, with spear engraven with magic spells,§ with helm and coat of mail, before the door of hall."

* The Gothic invaders of Italy inaugurated their monarch by placing him on a shield and elevating him on their shoulders in the midst of the army.

† All these proper names might have Oriental etymologies assigned to them; Eyvor-sail is the name of a celebrated Rajpoot hero of the Bhatti tribe, who were driven at an early period from the very heart of Scythia, and are of Yadu race.

‡ This word can have a Sanskrit derivation from *hya*, 'a horse;' *marna*, 'to strike or kill;' *Hialmar*, 'the horse-slayer.'

§ The custom of engraving incantations on weapons is also from the East, and thence adopted by the Mahomedan, as well as the use of phylacteries. The name of the goddess guarding the tribe is often inscribed, and I have had an entire copy of the *Bhagvat Gita* taken from the turban

Hervör.—"It is not good for thee to hide it."

Angantyr.—"The *death of Hialmar* * lies under my shoulders; it is all wrapt up in fire: I know no maid that dares to take this sword in hand."

Hervor.—"I shall take in hand the sharp sword, if I may obtain it. I do not think *that* fire will burn which plays about the site of deceased men." †

Angantyr.—"Take and keep *Hialmar's bane*: touch but the edges of it, there is poison in them both; ‡ it is a most cruel devourer of men." §

Tradition has hallowed the two-edged sword (*khanda*) of Mewar, by investing it with an origin as mysterious as "the bane of Hialmar." It is supposed to be the enchanted weapon fabricated by *Viswacarma*, ‖ with which the Hindu Proserpine girded the founder of the race, and led him forth to the conquest of Cheetore. ¶ It remained the great heir-loom of her princes till the sack of Cheetore by the Tatar Alla, when Rana Ursi and eleven of his brave sons devoted themselves at the command of the guardian goddess of their race, and their capital falling into the hands of the invader, the last scion of Bappa became a fugitive amidst the mountains of the west. It was then the Tatar inducted the Sonigurra Maldeo, as his lieutenant, into the capital of the Ghelotes. The most celebrated of the poetic chronicles of Mewar gives an elaborate description of the subterranean palace in Cheetore, in one of whose entrances the dreadful sacrifice was perpetuated to save the honour of Pudmini and the fair of Cheetore from the brutalized Tatars. The curiosity of Maldeo was more

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of a Rajpoot killed in action: in like manner the Mahomedans place therein the *Koran*.

* The metaphorical name of the sword Tirsing.

† I have already mentioned these fires which the northern nations believed to issue from the tombs of their heroes, and which seemed to guard their ashes; them they called *Hauga Elldr*, or 'the sepulchral fires,' and they were supposed more especially to surround tombs which contained hidden treasures. These supernatural fires are termed *Shahaba* by the Rajpoots. When the intrepid Scandinavian maiden observes that she is not afraid of the flame burning her, she is bolder than one of the boldest Rajpoots, for *Sri-Kishen*, who was shocked at the bare idea of going near these sepulchral lights, was one of three non-commissioned officers who afterwards led thirty-two firelocks to the attack and defeat of 1,500 Pindarries.

‡ Like the Rajpoot *Khanda*, Tirsing was double-edged; the poison of these edges is a truly Oriental idea.

§ This poem is from the *Hervarer Saga*, an ancient Icelandic history. See *Edda*, vol. ii. p. 192.

‖ The Vulcan of the Hindus.

¶ See the account of the initiation to arms of Bappa, the founder of the Gehlotes.

powerful than his superstition, and he determined to explore these hidden abodes, though reputed to be guarded by the serpent genii attendant on *Nagnecha*, the ancient divinity of its *Takshac* founders.* Whether it was through the identical caverned passage, and over the ashes of those martyred *Kamunis*, that he made good his way into those rock-bound abodes, the legend says not; but though

> "In darkness, and with danger's compassed round,
> And solitude,"

the intrepid Maldeo paused not until he had penetrated to the very bounds of the abyss, where in a recess he beheld the snaky sorceress and her sister crew seated round a cauldron, in which the materials of their incantation were solving before a fire that served to illume this abode of horror. As he paused, the reverberation of his footsteps caused the infernal crew to look athwart the palpable obscure of their abode, and beholding the audacious mortal, they demanded his intent. The valiant Sonigurra replied that he did not come as a spy,

> "With purpose to explore or to disturb
> The secrets of their realm,"

but in search of the enchanted brand of the founder of the Gehlotes. Soon they made proof of Maldeo's hardihood. Uncovering the cauldron, he beheld a sight most appalling: amidst divers fragments of animals was the arm of an infant. A dish of this horrid repast was placed before him, and a silent signal made for him to eat. He obeyed, and returned the empty platter: it was proof sufficient of his worth to wear the enchanted blade, which, drawn forth from its secret abode, was put into the hand of Maldeo, who bowing, retired with the trophy.

Rana Hamira recovered this heir-loom of his house, and with it the throne of Cheetore, by his marriage with the daughter of the Sonigurra, as related in the annals. Another version says it was Hamira himself who obtained the enchanted sword, by his incantations to Charuni Devi, or the goddess of the bards, whom he worshipped.

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* The *Mori* prince, from whom Bappa took Cheetore, was of the *Tak* or *Takshac* race, of whom *Nagnecha*, or *Nagini Mata* was the mother, represented as half woman and half serpent; the sister of the mother of the Scythic race, according to their legends; so that the deeper we dive into these traditions, the stronger reason we shall find to assign a Scythic origin to all these tribes. As *Bappa*, the founder of the Gehlotes, retired into Scythia and left his heirs to rule in India, I shall find fault with no antiquary, who will throw overboard all the connection between Kanaksen, the founder of the Ballabhi empire, and Sumitra, the last of Rama's line. Many rites of the Rana's house are decidedly Scythic.

We shall conclude this account of the military festival of Mewar with the birth of *Kumara*, the god of war, taken from the most celebrated of their mythological poems, the *Ramayana*, probably the most ancient book in the world. "Mena, daughter of Meru, became the spouse of Himavat, from whose union sprung the beautious Ganga, and her sister Ooma. Ganga was sought in marriage by all the celestials; while Ooma, after a long life of austerity, was espoused by *Roodra*."* But neither sister was fortunate enough to have offspring, until Ganga became pregnant by *Hutashana* (regent of fire), and "*Kumara*, resplendent as the sun, illustrious as the moon, was produced from the side of Ganga." The gods, with Indra at their head, carried him to the *Krittikas*† to be nursed, and he became their joint care. "As he resembled the fire in brightness, he received the name of Scanda, when the immortals, with *Agni* (fire) at their head, anointed him as *general of the armies of the gods*."‡—Thus (the bard Valmiki speaks), "Oh! Rama, have I related the story of the production of *Kumar*."

This is a very curious relic of ancient mythology, in which we may trace the most material circumstances of the birth of the Roman divinity of war. Kumara (Mars) was the son

* One of the names of the divinity of war, whose images are covered with vermilion in imitation of blood. (*Qy.* the German *roodur*, 'red.')

† The Pleiades.

‡ The festival of the birth of this son of Ganga, or *Januvi* is on the 10th of *Jeyt*. Sir W. Jones gives the following couplet from the *Sancha*; "On the 10th of *Jyaishtha*, on the bright half of the month, on the day of MANGALA, (*a*) son of the earth, when the moon was in Hasta, this daughter of *Jahnu* brought from the rocks, and ploughed over the land inhabited by mortals."

(*a*) MANGALA is one of the names (and perhaps one of the oldest) of the Hindu Mars (*Kumara*), to whom the *Wodensdag* of the Northmen, the *Mardi* of the French, the *dies Martis* of the Romans, are alike sacred. *Mangala* also means 'happy,' the reverse of the origin of *Mangul*, said to mean 'sad.' The juxtaposition of the Rajpoot and Scandinavian days of the week will shew that they have the same origin:

Rajpoot.	Scandinavian and Saxon.
Surya-war	Sun-day.
Som, or Indu-war	Moon-day.
Mangal-war	Tues-day.
Bud-war	Wodens-day.
Vrishpat war (1)	Thors-day.
Sucra-war (2)	Frey-day.
Sani, or Sanichra -war	Satur-day.

(1) *Vrihus-pati*, 'he who rides on the bull;' the steed of the Rajpoot god of war.

(2) Sucra is a Cyclop, regent of the planet Venus.

of Jannuvi (Juno), and born, like the Roman, without sexual intercourse, but by the agency of Vulcan (regent of fire). Kumara has the peacock (sacred to Juno likewise) as his companion; and as the Grecian goddess is feigned to have her car drawn by peacocks, so *Ku-mara* (the evil-striker) has a peacock for his steed.

Ganga, 'the river goddess,' has some of the attributes of Pallas, being like the Athenian maid (Ganga never married) born from the head of Jove. The bard of the silver age makes her fall from a glacier of Kailas (Olympus) on the head of the father of the gods, and remain many years within the folds of his tiara (*jata*), until at length being liberated, she was precipitated into the plains of Aryavarta. It was in this escape that she burst her rocky barrier (the Himalaya), and on the birth of Kumara exposed those veins of gold called *Jambunadi*, in colour like the jambu fruit, probably alluding to the veins of gold discovered in the rocks of the Ganges in those distant ages.

The last day of the month Asoj ushers in the Hindu winter (*Surd-rit*). On this day, nothing but white vestments and silver (*chandi*) ornaments are worn, in honor of the moon (*chandra*), who gives *his** name to the

> "————————Pale and common drudge
> 'Tween man and man."

This year there was an entire intercalary month: such are called *Luna*. There is a procession of all the chiefs to the Chougan; and on their return, a full court is held in the great hall, which breaks up with "obeisance to the lamp" (*jote ca moojra*), whose light each reverences when the candles are lit at home, every Rajpoot, from the prince to the owner of a "skin (*chursa*) of land," seated on a white linen cloth, should worship his tutelary divinity, and feed the priests with sugar and milk.

CARTICA.—This month is peculiarly sacred to *Lakshmi*, the goddess of wealth, the *Juno-Moneta* of the Romans. The 13th is called the *Dhunterus*, or thirteenth [day] of wealth when gold and silver coin are worshipped, as the representatives of the goddess, by her votaries of all classes, but especially by the mercantile. On the 14th, all anoint with oil, and make libations thereof to *Yama*, the judge of departed spirits. Worship (*pooja*) is performed to the lamp, which represents god of hell, and is thence called *Yama-dipa*, 'the lamp of

* It will be recollected that the moon with the Rajpoots as with the Scandinavians is a male divinity. The Tatars, who also consider him a male divinity, pay him especial adoration in this autumnal month.

on this day partial illumination takes place through the city.

Dewali, or *Festival of Lamps*.—On the Amavus, or *ides* of Carti[illegible] one of the most brilliant fetes of Rajasthan, called the *Dewali* when every city, village and encampment, exhibits a blaze of splendour. The potters' wheels revolve for weeks before solely in the manufacture of lamps (*dipa*), and from the palace to the peasant's hut, every one supplies himself with them, in proportion to his means, and arranges them according to his fancy. Stuffs, pieces of gold, and sweetmeats, are carried in trays and consecrated at the temple of Lakshmi, the *goddess of wealth*, to whom the day is consecrated. The Rana on this occasion honours his prime minister with his presence to dinner; and this chief officer of the state, who is always of the mercantile caste, pours oil into a *terra cotta* lamp, which his sovereign holds; the same libation of oil is permitted by each of the near relations of the minister. On this day it is incumbent upon every votary of Lakshmi to try the chance of the dice, and from their success in the *Dewali* the prince, the chief, the merchant, and the artizan, foretell the state of their coffers for the ensuing year.

Lakshmi, though on this festival depicted under by the type of riches, evidently the beneficent *Annapurna* in another garb, for the agricultural community place a corn-measure filled with grain and adorned with flowers as her representative; or, if they adorn her effigies, they are those of *Padma*, the water-nymph, with a lotus in one hand, and the *pashu* (noose for the head) in the other. As Lakshmi was produced at "the *Churning of the ocean*," and hence called one of the "fourteen gems," she is confounded with *Rambha*, chief of the *apsaras*, the Venus of the Hindus. Though both were produced from the froth (*sara*) of the waters (*ap or up*), they are as distinct as the representations of *riches* and *beauty* can be. Lakshmi became the wife of Vishnu, or Kaniya, and is placed at the feet of his marine couch when he is floating on the chaotic waters. As his consort, she merges into the character of Sarasvati, the goddess of eloquence, and here we have the combination of Minerva and Apollo. As of Minerva, the owl is the attendant of Lakshmi; and when we reflect that the Egyptians, who furnished the Grecian pantheon, held these solemn festivals, also called "*the feast of lamps*," in honour of Minerva at Sais, we may deduce the origin of this grand Oriental festival from that common mother-country in Central Asia, whence the *Dewali* radiated to remote China, the Nile, the Ganges, and the shores of the Tigris; for the *shebrat* of

Islam is but "the feast of lamps" of the Rajp[illegible] these there is a mixture of the attributes of Ceres [illegible] Proserpine, of Plutus and Pluto. Lakshmi partakes of t[illegible]ributes of both the first, while *Cuvera*,* who is conjoi[illegible]ith her, is Plutus: as Yama is Pluto, the infernal judg[illegible]e consecrated lamps and the libations of oil are all dedi[illegible]o him; and "torches and flaming brands are likewise kindled and consecrated, to burn the bodies of kinsmen who may be dead in battle in a foreign land, and light them through the shades of death to the mansion of Yama."†

To the infernal god Yama, who is "the son of the sun," the second day following the Amavus, or *ides* of Cartica, is also sacred; it is called the *Bhratri dwitya*, or 'the brothers,' because the river goddess *Yamuna* on this day entertained her brother (*bhratri*) Yama, and is therefore consecrated to fraternal affection. At the hour of curfew (*gaodaluk*‡ when the cattle return from the fields), the cow is worshipped, the herd having been previously tended. From this ceremony no rank is exempted on the preceding day, dedicated to Krishna: prince and peasant, all become pastoral attendants on the cow, as the form of Prithwi, § or the earth.

The 1st (*Sudi*), or 16th of Cartica, is the grand festival of *Annacuta*, sacred to the Hindu Ceres, which will be described with its solemnities at Nathdwara. There is a state procession, horse-races, and elephant-fights, at the Chougan, the evening closes with a display of fireworks.

The 14th (*Sudi*), or 29th, is another solemn festival [illegible] honour of Vishnu. It is called the *Jul-jatra*, from bei[illegible] formed on the water (*jul*). The Rana, chiefs, ministe[illegible] citizens, go in procession to the lake, and adore the "s[illegible] the waters," on which floating lights are placed, and the [illegible] surface is illuminated by a grand display of pyrotechny [illegible] this day, "*Vishnu rises from his slumber of four month*[illegible] figurative expression to denote the sun's emerging [illegible] cloudy months of the periodical flood.

The next day (the *poornum*, or last day of Cartica), being the *macara sancranti* or autumnal equinox, when the sun enters the zodiacal sign *Macara*, or Pisces, the Rana and chiefs proceed in state to the Chougan, and play at ball on horseback. The entire last half of the month Cartica, from Amavus (the

* The Hindu god of riches.

† Yamala is the great god of the Finlanders.—(*Clarke*).

‡ From *gao*, 'a cow.'

§ See anecdote in chapter xxi., which elucidates this practice of princes becoming herdsmen.

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ides) to the Poornum, is sacred to Vishnu; who is declared by the *Puranas* to represent the sun, and whose worship, that of water, and the floating-lights placed thereon,—all objects emblematic of fecundity,—carry us back to the point whence we started,—the adoration of the powers of nature: clearly proving all mythology to be universally founded on an astronomical basis.

In the remaining months of *Aghun* or *Magsir*, and *Posh*, there are no festivals in which a state procession takes place, though in each there are marked days kept not only by the Rajpoots, but generally by the Hindu nation; especially that on the 7th of Aghun, which is called *Mitra Saptimi*, or seventh of *Mithras*, and like the *Bhascara Saptimi* or the 7th of Magha, is sacred to the sun as a form of Vishnu. On this seventh day occurred the descent of the river-goddess (*Ganga*) from the foot of Vishnu; or the genius of fertilization, typified under the form of the river goddess, proceeding from the sun, the vivifying principle, and impended over the head of Iswara, the divinity presiding over generation, in imitation of which his votary pours libations of water (if possible from the sacred river *Ganga*) over his emblem, the lingam or phallus: a comparison which is made by the bard Chand in an invocation to this god, for the sake of contrasting his own inferiority "to the mighty bards of old."

"This head of Ees* is in the skies; on his crown falls the ever-flowing stream (*Ganga*†); but on his statue below, does not his votary pour the fluid from his *patera*?"

No satisfactory etymology has ever been assigned for the *phallic* emblem of generation, adored by Egyptian, Greek, Roman, and even by the *Christian*, which may be from the same primeval language that formed the Sanskrit.

Phalisa is the 'fructifier,' from *phala* 'fruit,' and *Isa* 'the god.' Thus the type of Osiris can have a definite interpretation, still wanting to the *lingam* of Iswara. Both deities presided over the streams which fertilized the countries in which they received divine honours: Osiris over the *Nile*, from 'the mountains of the moon,' in Æthiopia;† Iswara over the Indus,‡ (also called the Nil), and the Ganges from *Chandragiri*, 'the mountains of the moon,' on a peak of whose glaciers he has his throne.

Siva occasionally assumes the attributes of the sun-god; they especially appertain to Vishnu, who alone is styled

* Iswara, Isa, or as pronounced, *Ees*.

† "The land of the sun" (*aet*).

‡ Ferishta calls the Indus the *Nil-ab*, or 'blue waters;' it is also called *Aba-sin*, the 'father of streams.

"*immortal*, the *one*, *creator*, and *uncreated*;" and in whom centre all the qualities (*goonam*), which have peopled the Hindu pantheon with their ideal representatives. The bard Chand, who embodied the theological tenets of the Rajpoots in his prefatory invocation to every divinity who can aid his intents, apostrophizes Ganesa, and summons the goddess of eloquence, (Sarasvati) "to make his tongue her abode;" deprecates the destroying power, "him whom wrath inhabits," lest he should be cut off ere his book was finished; and lauding distinctly each member of the triad (*tri-murti*), he finishes by declaring them *one*, and that "*whoever believes them separate*, "*hell will be his portion.*" Of this *One* the sun is the great visible type, adored under a variety of names, as *Surya*, *Mitra*, *Bhascar*, *Viava*, *Vishnu*, *Carna*, or *Kana*, likewise an Egyptian epithet for the sun.*

The emblem of Vishnu is *Garuda*, or the eagle,† and the Sun-god both of the Egyptians and Hindus is typified with the bird's head. *Aruna* (the dawn), brother of Garuda, is classically styled the charioteer of Vishnu, whose two sons, *Sumpati* and *Jutayu*, attempting in imitation of their father to reach the sun, the wings of the former were burnt and he fell to the earth: of this the Greeks may have made their fable of Icarus.‡

In the chief zodiacal phenomena, observation will discover that Vishnu is still the object of worship. The *Phula-dola*, § or Floralia, in the vernal equinox, is so called from the image of Vishnu being carried in a *dola* or ark, covered with garlands of flowers (*phula*). Again, in the month of Asar, the commencement of the periodical rains, which date from the summer solstice, the image of Vishnu is carried on a car, and brought forth on the first appearance of the moon, the 11th of which being the solstice, is called "*the night of the gods.*" Then Vishnu reposes on his serpent-couch until the cessation of the flood on the 11th of Bhadoon, when "he turns on his side."‖

The 4th is also dedicated to Vishnu under his infantine appellation *Hari* (*Elios,*) because when a child "*he hid himself in the moon.*" We must not derogate from Sir W. Jones the

* According to Diodorus Siculus.

† The vulture and crane, which soar high in the heavens, are also called *garuda*, and vulgarly *geed*.
The ibis is of the crane or heron kind.

‡ Phæton was the son of Cephalus and Aurora. The former answers to the Hindu bird-headed messenger of the sun. *Aruna* is the Aurora of the Greeks, who with more taste have given the *dawn* a female character.

§ Also called *Dola-yatra*:

‖ *Bhagvat* and *Matsya Puranas*. See Sir W. Jones on the lunar year of the Hindus, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. p. 286.

merit of drawing attention to the analogy between these Hindu festivals on the equinoxes, and the Egyptian, called the *entrance of Osiris into the moon*, and *his confinement in an ark*. But that distinguished writer merely gives the hint, which the learned Bryant aids us to pursue, by bringing modern travellers to corroborate the ancient authorities: the drawings of Pocock from the *sun* temple of Luxor to illustrate Plutarch, Curtius, and Diodorus. Bryant comes to the same conclusion with regard to Osiris enclosed in the ark, which we adopt regarding *Vishnu's* repose during the four months of inundation, the period of fertilization. I have already, in the rites of *Annapurna*, the Isis of the Egyptians, noticed the *crescent* form of the ark of Osiris, as well as the *ram's-head* ornaments, indicative of the vernal equinox, which the Egyptians called *Phamenoth*, being the birth-day of Osiris, or the sun; the *Phag*, or *Phalgoon* month of the Hindus; the *Phagesia* of the Greeks, sacred to Dionysius.

The expedition of the Argonauts in search of the golden fleece is a version of the arkite worship of Osiris, the *Dolayatra* of the Hindus: and Sanscrit etymology, applied to the vessel of the Argonauts, will give the sun (*argha*) god's (*natha*) entrance into the sign of the *Ram*.

The Tauric and Hydra foes, with which Jason had to contend before he obtained the fleece of *Aries*, are the symbols of the sun-god, both of the Ganges and the Nile; and this fable, which has occupied almost every pen of antiquity, is clearly astronomical, as the names alone of the *Argha-Nath* sons of *Apollo, Mars, Mercury, Sol, Arcus* or *Argus*,* *Jupiter, Bacchus*, &c. sufficiently testify, whose voyage is entirely celestial.

If it be destined that any portion of the veil which covers these ancient mysteries, connecting those of the Ganges with the Nile, shall be removed, it will be from the interpretation of the expedition of Rama hitherto deemed almost as allegorical as that of the *Arghanaths*. I shall at once assume an opinion I have long entertained, that the western coast of the red sea was the *Lanka* of the memorable exploit in the history of the Hindus. If Alexander from the mouths of the Indus ventured to navigate those seas with his frail fleet of barks constructed in the Punjab, what might we not expect from the resources of the King of Coshala, the descendant of Sagara, emphatically called the *sea-king*, whose "60,000 *sons*" were so many mariners, and who has left his name as a memorial of his marine power at the island (*Sagar*) at the embouchure of the main arm of *the* Ganges, and to the ocean itself, also called *Sagara*. If

* *Argha*, 'the sun,' in Sanskrit.

the embarkation of Rámesa and his heroes for the redemption of Sita had been from the Gulf of Cutch, the grand emporium from the earliest ages, the voyage of Rama would have been but the prototype of that of the Macedonians; but local tradition has sanctified *Rameswara*, the southern part of the peninsula, as the rendezvous of his armament. The currents in the Straits of Mannar, curiosity or a wish to obtain auxiliaries from this insular kingdom, may have prompted the visit to Ceylon; and hence the vestiges there found of this event. But even from this "*utmost isle, Taprobane*," the voyage across the Erythrean Sea is only twenty-five degrees of longitude, which with a flowing sail they would run down in ten or twelve days. The only difficulty which occurs is in the synchronical existence of Rama and the Pharaoh* of Moses, which would tend to the opposite of my hypothesis, and shew that India received her Phallic rites, her architecture, and symbolic mythology, from the Nile, instead of planting them there.

"Est-ce l'Inde, la Phenicie, l'Ethiopie, la Chaldee, ou l'Egypte, qui a vu naitre ce culte? ou bien le type en a-t-il ete fourni aux habitans de ces contrees, *par une nation plus ancienne encore?*" asks an ingenious, but anonymous French author, on the origin of the Phallic worship.† *Ramesa*, chief of the *Suryas*, or sun-born race, was king of the city designated from his mother, *Coushalya*, of which *Ayodhya* was the capital. His sons were Lava and Cush, who originated the races we may term the *Lavites* and *Cushites*, or *Cushwas* of India.‡ Was then *Coushalya*, the mother of Ramesa, a native of Æthiopia,§ or *Cushadwipa*, 'the land of Cush?' Rama and Krishna are both painted blue (*nila*), holding the lotus, emblematic of the Nile. Their names are often identified. Ram-Krishna, the bird-headed divinity, is painted as the messenger of each, and the historians of both were contemporaries. That both were real princes there is no doubt, though Krishna assumed to be an incarnation of Vishnu, as Rama was of the sun. Of Rama's family was *Trisankha*, mother of the great apostle of Budha, whose symbol was the serpent; and the followers of Budha assert that Krishna and this apostle, whose statues are *facsimiles* of those of Memnon, were cousins. Were the *Hermetic*

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* *Pha-ra* is but a title, 'the king.'

† "Des Divinites generatives; ou du culte du Phallus chez les anciens et les modernes."—*Paris*.

‡ Of the former race the Ranas of Mewar, of the latter the princes of Nirwar and Ambar, are the representatives.

§ Æthiopia, 'the country of the sun;' from *Aet*, contraction of *Aditya*. Egypt may have the same etymology, *Aetia*.

creed and Phallic rites therefore received from the Ethiopic Cush? Could emblematic relics be discovered in the caves of the Troglodytes, who inhabited the range of mountains on the Cushite shore of the Arabian straits, akin to those of Ellora and Elephanta,* whose style discloses physical, mythological, as well as architectural affinity to the Egyptian, the question would at once be set at rest.

I have derived the Phallus from *Phalisa*, the *chief fruit*. The Greeks, who either borrowed it from the Egyptians or had it from the same source, typified the *Fructifier* by a *pine-apple*, the form of which resembles the *Sitaphala*,† or fruit of Sita, whose rape by Ravana carried Rama from the Ganges over many countries ere he recovered her.‡ In like manner *Gouri*, the Rajpoot Ceres, is typified under the coco-nut, or sriphala,§ the *chief of fruit*, or *fruit* sacred to *Sri*, or *Isa* (Isis), whose other elegant emblem of abundance, the *camacumbha*, is drawn with branches of the palmyra,‖ or coco-tree, gracefully pendent from the vase (*cumbha*).

The *Sriphala*** is accordingly presented to all the votaries of Iswara and Isa on the conclusion of the spring-festival of *Phalguna*, the *Phagesia* of the Greeks, the *Phamenoth* of the Egyptian, and the Saturnalia of antiquity; a rejoicing at the renovation of the powers of nature; the empire of heat over cold—of light over darkness.††

* It is absurd to talk of these being modern; decypher the characters thereon, and then pronounce their antiquity.

† Vulg. *Sureefa*.

‡ Rama subjected her to the fiery ordeal, to discover whether her virtue had suffered while thus forcibly separated.

§ Vulg. *Naryal*.

‖ *Palmyra* is Sanskrit corrupted, and affords the etymology of Solomon's city of the desert, *Tadmor*. The p, by the retrenchment of a single diacritical point, becomes t; and the *l* and *d* being permutable, *Pal* becomes *Tad*, or *Tal*—the *Palmyra*, which is the *Mor*, or chief of trees; hence *Tadmor*, from its date-trees.

** The *Jayaphala*, 'the fruit of victory,' is the nutmeg; or, as a native of Java, *Javuphala*, 'fruit of Java,' is most probably derived from *Java-dwipa*, 'the victorious isle.'

†† The Camari of the *Saura* tribes, or sun-worshippers of Saurashtra, claims descent from the *bird-god* of Vishnu [who aided Rama (*a*) to the discovery of Sita], and the *Macara* (*b*) or crocodile, and dates the monstrous conception from that event, and their original abode from *Sancodra* Bate, or island of Sancodra. Whether to the *Dioscorides* of the

(*a*) Rama and Vishnu interchange characters.

(*b*) It is curious, that the designation of the tribe *Camar* is a transposition of *Macar*, for the final letter of each is mute.

The analogy between the goddess of the spring Saturnalia, *Phalguni*, and the Phagesia of the Greeks, will excite surprise; the word is not derived from *Phagein eating*, with the Rajpoot votaries of *Holica*, as with those of the *Dionysia* of the Greeks; but from *phalguni*, compounded of *guna*, 'quality, virtue, or characteristic,' and *phala*, 'fruit;' in short, the *fructifier*. From *Phallos*,* to which there is no definite meaning, the Egyptian had the festival *Phallica*, the *Holica* of the Hindus. *Phala* and *phala*, flower and fruit, are the roots of all, Floralia and Phalaria, the Phallus of Osiris, the Thyrsus of Bacchus, or Lingam of Iswara, symbolized by the *Sriphala*, or *Annas*, the 'food of the gods,'† or the *Sitaphala* of the Helen of Ayodhya.

From the existence of this worship in Congo at this day, the author already quoted asks if it may not have originated in ETHIOPIA: "qui comme le temoignent plusieurs ecrivains de l' antiquite, a fourni ses dieux a l' Egypte." On the first of the five complementary days called "*epagomenes*," preceding new-year's day, the Egyptians celebrated *the birth of the sun-god, Osiris*, in a similar manner as the Hindus do their solstitial festival, "*the morning of the gods*," the Hiul of Scandinavia; on which occasion, "on promenait en procession une figure d'Osiris, dont le* Phallus etait triple;" a number, he adds, expressing "la pluralite indefinee." The number *three* is sacred to Iswara, chief of the *Tri-murti* or Triad, whose statue adorns the junction (*sangum*) of all triple streams; hence called *Triveni*, who is *Trinetra*, or 'three-eyed,' and *Tridenta*, or 'god of the trident;' *Triloca*, 'god of the *triple abode*, heaven, earth, and hell;' *Tripura*, of the triple city, to whom the *Tri-poli* or triple gates are sacred, and of which he has made *Ganes* the Janitor, or guardian. The grotesque figure placed by the

entrance of the Arabian Gulf this name was given, evidently corrupted from *Sanc-ha-dwara* to Socotra, we shall not stop to inquire. Like the isle in the entrance of the gulf of Cutch, it is the *dwara* or portal to the *Sinus Arabicus*, and the pearl-shell (*sankha*) there abounds. This tribe deduce their origin from Rama's expedition, and allege that their Icthyiopic mother landed them where they still reside. Wild as is this fable, it adds support to this hypothesis.

* See Lempriere, arts. *Phagesia* and *Phallica*. "L' Abbe Mignot pense que le *Phallus* est originaire de l'Assyrie et de la Chaldee, et que c'est de ce pays que l'usage de consacrer ce symbole de la generation a passe en Egypte. Il croit d'apres le savant Le Clerc, qui le nom de ce symbole est Phenicien: qu'il derive de *Phalou*, qui, dans cette langue, signfie une *chose secrete* et *cachee*, et du verbe *phala*, qui veut dire *etre tenu secret*." (*a*)

† *Anna*, 'food,' and *asa* or *isa*, 'the god.'

(*a*) Des Divinites Generatives.

Hindus during the Saturnalia in the highways, and called *Natha-Rama* (the god Rama), is the counterpart of the figure described by Plutarch as representing Osiris, "*ce soleil printanier*," in the Egyptian Saturnalia or *Phamenoth*. Even Ram-isa and Ravana may, like Osiris and Typhon, be merely the ideal representatives of light and darkness; and the chaste *Sita*, spouse of the *Surya* prince, the astronomical Virgo, only a zodiacal sign.

That a system of Hinduism pervaded the whole Babylonian and Assyrian empires, Scripture furnishes abundant proofs, in the mention of the various types of the sun-god *Balnath*, whose pillar adorned "every mount" and "every grove;" and to whose other representative, the brazen calf (*nanda*) the 15th of each month (*amavus*)* was especially sacred. It was not confined to these celebrated regions of the East, but was disseminated throughout the earth; because from the Aral to the Baltic, colonies were planted from that central region,† the cradle of the Suryas and the Indus, whose branches (*sakhæ*)‡ the Yavan, the Aswa, and the Meda, were the progenitors of the Ionians, the Assyrians, and Medes; § while in latter times, from the same teeming region, the *Galati* and *Getæ*,‖ the Kelts and Goths, carried modifications of the system to the shores of Armorica and the Baltic, the cliffs of Caledonia, and the remote isles of the German Ocean. The monumental circles sacred to the sun-god Belenus at once existing in that central region,¶ in India,** and throughout Europe, is conclusive. The apotheosis of the patriarch Noah, whom the Hindu styles "*Manu Vaivaswata, 'the* man, son of the sun," may have originated

* The Hindus divide the month into two portions called *pukhas* or fortnights. The first is termed *badi*, reckoning from the 1st to the 15th, which day of partition is called *amavus*, answering to the *ides* of the Romans, and held by the Hindus, as it was by the Jews, in great sanctity. The last division is termed *Sudi*, and they recommence with the initial numeral, thence to the 30th or completion, called *poornum*; thus instead of the 16th, 17th, &c. of the month, they say *Sudi ekum* (1st) *Sudi doaj* (2nd).

† Sogdiana and Transoxiana.

‡ Hence the word *sacæ*.

§ See Genealogical Table No. 2, for these names. The sons of the three *Midas*, pronounced *Mede*, founded kingdoms at the precise point of time, according to calculation from the number of kings, that Assyria was founded.

‖ The former were more *pastoral*, and hence the origin of their name, corrupted to Keltoi. The Gete or Jits pursued the hunter's occupation, living more by the chace, though these occupations are generally conjoined in the early stages of civilization.

¶ Rubruquais and other travellers.

** Colonel Mackenzie's invaluable and gigantic collection.

the *Dolayatra* of the Hindus, the ark of Osiris, the ship of Isis amongst the Suevi, in memory of "*the forty days*" noticed in the traditions of every nation of the earth.

The time may be approaching when this worship in the East like the Egyptian, shall be only matter of tradition; although this is not likely to be effected by such summary means as were adopted by Cambyses, who slew the sacred Apis and whipped his priests, while their Greek and Roman conquerors adopted and embellished the Pantheon of the Nile.* But when Christianity reared her severe yet simple form, the divinities of the Nile, the Pantheon of Rome, and the Acropolis of Athens, could not abide her awful majesty. The temples of the Alexandrian Serapis were levelled by Theophilus,† while that of Osiris at Memphis became a church of Christ. "Muni de ses pouvoirs, et escorte d'une foule de moines, il mit en fuite les pretres, brisa les idoles, demolit les temples, ou y etablit des monasteres.‡" The period for thus subverting idolatry is passed: the religion of Christ is not of the sword, but one enjoining peace and good-will on earth. But as from him "to whom much is given," much will be required, the good and benevolent of the Hindu nations may have ulterior advantages over those Pharisees who would make a monopoly even of the virtues; who "see the mote in their neighbour's eye, but cannot discern the beam in their own." While, therefore, we strive to impart a purer taste and better faith, let us not imagine that the minds of those we would reform are the seats of impurity, because, in accordance with an idolatry coeval with the flood, they continue to worship mysteries opposed to our own modes of thinking.

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* Isis, and Osiris, Serapis and Canopus, Apis and Ibis, adopted by the Romans, whose temples and images, yet preserved, will allow full scope to the Hindu antiquary for analysis of both systems. The temple of Serapis at Pozzouli is quite Hindu in its ground plan.

† In the reign of Theodosius.

‡ Du Culte, &c. &c.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The nicer shades of character difficult to catch.—Morals more obvious and less changeable than manners.—Dissimilarity of manners in the various races of Rajasthan.—Rajpoots have deteriorated in manners, as they declined in power.—Regard and deference paid to Women in Rajasthan.—Seclusion of the Females, no mark of their degradation.—High spirit of the Rajpoot Princesses.—Their unbounded devotion to their Husbands.—Examples from the Chronicles and Bardic Histories.—Anecdotes in more recent times.—Their magnanimity.—Delicacy.—Courage and presence of mind.—Anecdote of Sadoo of Poogul and Korumdevi, daughter of the Mohil chief.—The seclusion of the Females increases their influence.—Historical evidences of its extent.

THE manners of a nation constitute the most interesting portion of its history, but a thorough knowledge of them must be the fruit of long and attentive observation: an axiom which applies to a people even less inaccessible than the Rajpoots. The importance and necessity of such an illustration of the Rajpoot character, in a work like the present, calls for and sanctions the attempt, however inadequate the means. Of what value to mankind would be the interminable narrative of battles, were their moral causes and results passed by unheeded? Although both the Persian and Hindu annalists not unfrequently unite the characters of moralist and historian, it is in a manner unsuitable to the subject, according to the more refined taste of Europe. In the poetic annals of the Rajpoot, we see him check his war-chariot, and, when he should be levelling his javelin, commence a discourse upon ethics; or when the battle is over, the Nestor or Ulysses of the host converts his tent into a lyceum, and delivers lectures on morals or manners. But the reflections which should follow, and form the corollary to each action, are never given; and even if they were, though we might comprehend the moral movements of a nation, we should still be unable to catch the minute shades of character that complete the picture of domestic life, and which are to be collected from those familiar sentiments uttered in social intercourse, when the mind unbends and nature throws aside the trammels of education and of ceremony. Such a picture would represent the *manners*, which are continually undergoing

modifications, in contradistiction to the *morals* of society; the latter, having a fixed creed for their basis, are definite and unchangeable. The *chal* of the Rajpoot, like the *mores* of the Romans, or *costumi* of modern Italy, is significant alike of mental and external habit. In the moral point of view, it is the path chalked out for him by the sages of antiquity; in the personal, it is that which custom has rendered immutable. *Kea boora chal chalta*, 'in what a bad path does he march!' says the moralist: *Bap, Dada ca chal chhoora*, 'he abandons the usages of his ancestors,' says the stickler for custom, in Rajasthan.

The grand features of morality are few, and merely the same in every nation not positively barbarous. The principles contained in the Decalogue form the basis of every code—of Manu and of Mahomed, as well as of Moses. These are grand landmarks of the truth of divine history; and are confirmed by the less important traits of personal customs and religious rites, which nations the most remote from each other continue to hold in common. The *Koran* we know to have been founded on the Mosaic law; the *Sastra* of Manu, unconsciously, approaches still more to the Jewish Scriptures in spirit and intention; and from its pages might be formed a manual of moral instruction, which, if followed by the disciples of the framer, might put more favoured societies to the blush.

As it has been observed in a former part of this work, the same religion governing all must tend to produce a certain degree of mental uniformity. The shades of *moral* distinction which separate these races are almost imperceptible: while you cannot pass any grand natural barrier without having the dissimilarity of customs and manners forced upon your observation. Whoever passes from upland Mewar, the country of the Seesodias, into the sandy flats of Marwar, the abode of the Rahtores, would feel the force of this remark. Innovations proceeding from external causes, such as conquest by irreligious foes, and the birth of new sects and schisms, operate important changes in manners and customs. We can only pretend, however, to describe facts which are obvious, and those which history discloses, whence some notions may be formed of the prevailing traits of character in the Rajpoot; his ideas of virtue and vice, the social intercourse and familiar courtesies of Rajasthan, and their recreations, public and private.

"The manners of a people," says the celebrated Goguet "always bear a proportion to the progress they have made in the arts and sciences." If by this test we trace the analogy between past and existing manners amongst the Rajpoots, we must conclude at once that they have undergone a decided deterioration. Where can we look for sages like those whose

systems of philosophy were the prototypes of those of Greece: to whose works Plato, Thales, and Pythagoras were disciples? Where shall we find the astronomers, whose knowledge of the planetary system yet excites wonder in Europe, as well as the architects and sculptors, whose works claim our admiration, and the musicians, "who could make the mind oscillate from joy to sorrow, from tears to smiles, with the change of modes and varied intonation."* The manners of those days must have corresponded with this advanced stage of refinement, as they must have suffered from its decline: yet the homage paid by Asiatics to precedent, has preserved many relics of ancient customs, which have survived the causes that produced them.

It is universally admitted that there is no better criterion of the refinement of a nation than the condition of the fair sex therein. As it is elegantly expressed by Comte Segur, "Leur sort est un boussole sur pour le premier regard d'un etranger qui arrive dans un pays inconu."† Unfortunately, the habitual seclusion of the higher classes of females in the East contracts the sphere of observation in regard to their influence on society; but, to borrow again from our ingenious author, "les hommes font les lois, les femmes font les mœurs;" and their incarceration in Rajasthan by no means lessens the application of the adage to that country. Like the magnetic power, however latent, their attraction is not the less certain. "C'est aux hommes a faire des grandes choses, c'est aux femmes a les inspirer," is a maxim to which every Rajpoot cavalier would subscribe, with whom the age of chivalry is not fled, though ages of oppression have passed over him. He knows there is no retreat into which the report of a gallant action will not penetrate, and set fair hearts in motion to be the object of his search. The bards, those chroniclers of fame, like the *jongleurs* of old, have everywhere access, to the palaces as to the hamlet; and a brilliant exploit travels with all the rapidity of a comet, and clothed with the splendid decorations of poetry, from the Indian desert to the valley of the Jumna. If we cannot paint the Rajpoot dame as invested with all the privileges which Segur assigns to the first woman, "compagne de l'homme et son egale, vivant par lui, pour lui, associee a son bonheur, a ses plaisirs, a la puissance qu'il exercait sur ce vaste univers;" she is far removed from the condition which demands commiseration.

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* So says Valmika, the author of the oldest epic in existence, the *Ramayuna*.

† "Les Femmes, leur Condition et leur Influence dans l'Ordre Social," vol. i. p. 10.

Like the ancient German or Scandinavian, the Rajpoot consults her in every transaction; from her ordinary actions he draws the omen of success, and he appends to her name the epithet of *devi*, or 'godlike.' The superficial observer, who applies his own standard to the customs of all nations, laments with an affected philanthropy the degraded condition of the Hindu famale, in which sentiment he would find her little disposed to join. He particularly laments her want of liberty, and calls her seclusion imprisonment. Although I cordially unite with Segur, who is at issue with his compatriot Montesquieu on this part of discipline, yet from the knowledge I do possess of the freedom, the respect, the happiness, which Rajpoot women enjoy, I am by no means inclined to deplore their state as one of captivity. The author of the *Spirit of Laws*, with the views of a close philosopher, deems seclusion necessary from the irresistible influence of climate on the passions; while the chivalrous Segur, with more knowledge of human nature, draws the very opposite conclusion asserting all restraints to be injurious to morals. Of one thing we are certain, seclusion of females could only originate in a moderately advanced stage of civilization. Amongst hunters, pastors, and cultivators, the women were required to aid in all external pursuits, as well as internal economy. The Jews secluded not their women, and the well, where they assembled to draw water, was the place where marriages were contracted, as with the lower classes in Rajpootana. The inundations of the Nile, each house of whose fertile valleys was isolated, is said to have created habits of secluding women with the Egyptians; and this argument might apply to the vast valleys of the Indus and Ganges first inhabited, and which might have diffused example with the spread of population. Assuredly, if India was colonized from the cradle of nations, Central Asia, they did not thence bring these notions within the Indus; for the Scythian women went to the opposite extreme, and were polyandrists.* The desire of eradicating those impure habits, described by Herodotus, that the slipper at the tent-door should no longer be a sign, may have originated the opposite extreme in a life of entire seclusion. Both polygamy and polyandrism originated in a mistaken view of the animal economy, and of the first great command to people the earth: the one was general amongst all the nations of antiquity; the

* So are some of the Hindu races in the mountainous district about the Himalaya, and in other parts of India. This curious trait in ancient manners is deserving of investigation: it might throw some light on the early history of the world.

other rare, though to be found in Scythia, India, and even amongst the Natches, in the new world; but never with the Rajpoot, with whom monogamy existed during the patriarchal ages of India, as amongst the Egyptians. Of all the nations of the world who have habituated the female to a restricted intercourse with society, whether Grecian, Roman, Egyptian, or Chinese, the Rajpoot has given least cause to provoke the sentiment of pity; for if deference and respect be proofs of civilization, Rajpootana must be considered as redundant in evidence of it. The uxoriousness of the Rajpoot might be appealed to as indicative of the decay of national morals; "chez les barbares (says Segur) les femmes ne sont rien: les mœurs de ces peuples s'adoucissent-t'elles, on compte les femmes pour quelque-chose: enfin, se corrompentelles, les femmes sont tout;" and whether from this decay, or the more probable and amiable cause of seeking, in their society, consolation for the loss of power and independence, the women are nearly every thing with the Rajpoot.

It is scarcely fair to quote Manu as an authority for the proper treatment of the fair sex, since many of his dicta by no means tend to elevate their condition. In his lengthened catalogue of things pure and impure he says, however, "the mouth of a woman is constantly pure,"* and he ranks it with the running waters, and the sunbeam; he suggests that their names should be "agreeable, soft, clear, captivating the fancy, auspicious, ending in long vowels, resembling words of benediction."†

"Where females are honoured (says Manu), there the deities are pleased; but where dishonoured, *there all religious rites become useless:*" and he declares, "that in whatever house a woman not duly honoured pronounces an imprecation, that house, with all that belongs to it, shall utterly perish."‡ "Strike not, even with a blossom, a wife guilty of a hundred faults,"§

* Chap. v. 130. † Chap. ii, 33.

‡ Digest of Hindu Law, Colebrooke, vol. ii, p. 209.

§ Of all the religions which have diversified mankind, whatever man might select, woman should chose the Christian. This alone gives her just rank in the scale of creation, whether arising from the demotic principle which pervades our faith, or the dignity conferred on the sex in being chosen to be the mother of the Saviour of man. In turning over the pages of Manu, we find many mortifying texts, which I am inclined to regard as interpolations; as the following, so opposed to the beautiful sentiment above quoted:—"A wife, a son, a servant, a pupil, and a *younger brother*, may be corrected when they commit faults with a rope, or the small thong of a cane." (*a*) Such texts might lead us to adopt Segur's conclusions,

(*a*) On Judicature, p. 268.

says another sage: a sentiment so delicate, that Reginald de Born, the prince of troubadours, never uttered any more refined.

However exalted the respect of the Rajpoot for the fair, he nevertheless holds that

"——Nothing lovelier can be found
In woman, than to study household good."

In the most tempestuous period of the history of Mewar, when the Ranas broke asunder the bonds which united them to the other chiefs of Rajasthan, and bestowed their daughters on the foreign nobles incorporated with the higher class of their own kin, the chief of Sadri, so often mentioned, had obtained a princess to wife. There was a hazard to domestic happiness in such unequal alliance, which the lord of Sadri soon experienced. To the courteous request, "Ranawut-ji, fill me a cup of water," he received a contemptuous refusal, with the remark, that "the daughter of a hundred kings would not become cup-bearer to the chieftain of Sadri."—"Very well," replied the plain soldier, "you may return to your father's house, if you can be of no use in mine." A messenger was instantly sent to the court, and the message, with every aggravation, was made known; and she followed on the heels of her messenger. A summons soon arrived for the Sadri chief to attend his sovereign at the capital. He obeyed; and arrived in time to give his explanation just as the Rana was proceeding to hold a full court. As usual, the Sadri chief was placed on his sovereign's right hand, and when the court broke up, the heir-apparent of Mewar, at a preconcerted sign, stood at the edge of the carpet, performing the menial office of holding the slippers of the chief. Shocked at such a mark of extreme respect, he stammered forth some words of homage, his unworthiness, &c., to which the Rana replied, "As my son-in-law, no distinction too great can be conferred: take home your wife, she will never again refuse you a cup of water."*

that ever since the days of the patriarchs women were only brilliant slaves —victims, who exhibited, in the wreaths and floral coronets which bedecked them, the sacrifices to which they were destined. In the patriarchal ages their occupations were to season the viands, and bake the bread, and weave cloth for the tents: their recreations limited to respire the fresh evening air under the shade of a fig-tree, and sing canticles to the Almighty. Such a fate, indeed, must appear to a Parisian dame, who passes her time between the *Feydeau* and *Tivoli*, and whose daily promenade is through the *Champs Elysees*, worse than death: yet there is no positive hardship in these employments, and it was but the fair division of labour in the Primitive ages, and that which characterizes the Rajpootni of the present day.

* Manu lays down some plain and wholesome rules for the domestic conduct of the wife; above all, he recommends her "to preserve a cheerful

Could authority deemed divine ensure obedience to what is considered a virtue in all ages and countries, conjugal duties of the Rajpoots are comprehended in the following simple text: "*Let mutual fidelity* continue to death; this, in a few words, may be considered as the supreme law between husband and wife."*

That this law governed the Rajpoot in past ages, as well as the present, in as great a degree as in other stages of society and other countries, we cannot doubt. Nor will the annals of any nation afford more numerous or more sublime instances of female devotion, than those of the Rajpoots; and such would never have been recorded, were not the incentive likely to be revered and followed. How easy would it be to cite examples for every passion which can actuate the human mind! Do we desire to see a model of unbounded devotion, resignation, and love, let us take the picture of Sita, as painted by the Milton of their silver age, than which nothing more beautiful or sentimental may be culled even from *Paradise Lost*. Rama was about to abandon his faithful wife for the purpose of becoming a *Vana-prastha* or hermit, when she thus pours out her ardent desire to partake of his solitude.

"A woman's bliss is found, not in the smile
Of father, mother, friend, nor in herself:
Her husband is her only portion here,
Her heaven here after. If thou indeed
Depart this day into the forest drear,
I will precede, and smooth the thorny way.

* * * *

A gay recluse
On thee attending, happy shall I feel
Within the honey-scented grove to roam,

temper," and "frugality in domestic expenses." Some of his texts savour, however, more of the anchorite than of a person conversant with mankind: and when he commands the husband to be reverenced as a god by the virtuous wife, even though enamoured of another woman, it may be justly doubted if ever he found obedience thereto; or the scarcely less difficult ordinance, "for a whole year let a husband bear with his wife who treats him with aversion," after which probation he is permitted to separate. It is very likely the Rajpoots are more in the habit of quoting the first of these texts, than of hearing the last: for although they have a choice at home, they are not ashamed to be the avowed admirers of the Aspasias and Phrynes of the capital; from the same cause which attracted Socrates and made Pericles a slave, and which will continue until the united charms of the dance and the song are sanctioned to be practised by the *legitimes* within.

* Manu, chap. ix. p. 302, text 101, *Haughton's edition.*

For thou e'en here canst nourish and protect ;
And therefore other friend I cannot need.
To-day most surely with thee will I go,
And thus resolved, I must not be deny'd.
Roots and wild fruit shall be my constant food ;
Nor will I near thee add unto thy cares,
Nor lag behind, nor forest-food refuse,
But fearless traverse every hill and dale.

* * * *

Thus could I sweetly pass a thousand years ;
But without thee e'en heaven would lose its charms.

* * * *

Pleased to embrace thy feet, I will reside
In the rough forest as my father's house.
Void of all other wish, supremely thine,
Permit me this request—I will not grieve,
I will not burden thee—refuse me not.
But shouldst thou, Raghava, this prayer deny,
Know, I resolve on death.—

Vide Ward, *On the History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindus*, vol. ii. p. 408.

The publication of Mr. Wilson's specimens of the Hindu drama has put the English public in possession of very striking features of ancient Hindu manners, amongst which conjugal fidelity and affection stand eminently conspicuous. The *Uttara Rama Charita*, the *Vikrama and Urvasi*, and the *Mudra Rakshasa*, contain many instances in point. In the latter piece occurs an example, in comparatively humble life, of the strong affection of a Hindu wife. Chandana Das, like Antonio in the *Merchant of Venice*, is doomed to die, to save his friend. His wife follows him to the scene of execution, with their only child and the succeeding dialogue ensues :—

Chand. Withdraw, my love, and lead our boy along.
Wife. Forgive me, husband,—to another world
Thy steps are bound, and not to foreign realms,
Whence in due time thou homeward wilt return ;
No common farewell our leave-taking now
Admits, nor must the partner of thy fate
Leave thee to trace thy solitary way.

Chand. What dost thou mean ?
Wife. To follow thee in death.

Chand. Think not of this—our boy's yet tender years
Demand affectionate and guardian care.
Wife. I leave him to our household gods, nor fear
They will desert his youth :—come, my dear boy,
And bid thy sire a long and last farewell!

The annals of no nation on earth record a more ennobling or more magnanimous instance of female loyalty than that ex-

emplified by Dewuldevi, mother of the Binafur brothers, which will at once illustrate the manners of the Rajpoot fair, and their estimation and influence in society.

The last Hindu emperor of Delhi, the chivalrous Prithwiraj of the Chohan race, had abducted the daughter of the prince of Sameta. Some of the wounded who had covered his retreat were assailed and put to death by Purmal, the Chundail prince of Mahoba. In order to avenge this insult, the emperor had no sooner conveyed his bride to Delhi than he invaded the territory of the Chundail, whose troops were cut to pieces at Sirswah,* the advanced post of his kingdom. While pursuing his success, the Chundail called a council, and by the advice of his queen Malundevi demanded a truce of his adversary, on the plea of the absence of his chieftains Ala and Udila. The brother of the bard of Mahoba was the envoy, who found the Chohan ready to cross the Pahouj. He presented his gifts, and adjured him "as a true Rajpoot, not to take them at such disadvantage." The gifts were accepted, and the Chohan pledged himself, "albeit his warriors were eager for the fight," to grant the truce demanded; and having dismissed the herald, he enquired of his own bard, the prophetic Chund, the cause of the disaffection which led to the banishment of the Binafurs; to which he thus replies: "Jessraj was the leader of the armies of Mahoba when his sovereign was defeated and put to flight by the wild race of Goands; Jessraj repulsed the foe, captured Gurra their capital, and laid his head at his sovereign's feet. Purmal returning with victory to Mahoba, in gratitude for this service, embraced the sons of Jessraj, and placed them in his honours and lands while Malundevi the queen made no distinction between them and her son." The fief of the young Binafur chieftains was at the celebrated fortress Kalinjer, where their sovereign happening to see a fine mare belonging to Ala, desired to possess her, and being refused, so far forgot past services as to compel them to abandon the country. On retiring they fired the estates of the Purihara chief who had instigated their disgrace. With their mother and families they repaired to Canouj, whose monarch received them with open arms, assigning lands for their maintenance. Having thus premised the cause of banishment, Chund conducts us to Canouj, at the moment when Jagnuk, the bard, was addressing the exiles on the dangers of Mahoba.

"The Chohan is encamped on the plains of Mahoba; Nursing and Birsing have fallen, Sirswah is given to the

* On the Pahouj, and now belonging to the Boondela prince of Duttea. The author has been over this field of battle.

flames, and the kingdom of Purmal laid waste by the Chohan. For one month a truce has been obtained: while to you I am sent for aid in his griefs. Listen, oh sons of Binafur, sad have been the days of Malundevi since you left Mahoba! Oft she looks towards Canouj; and while she recalls you to mind, tears gush from her eyes and she exclaims, 'the fame of the Chundail is departing:' but when gone, oh sons of Jessraj, great will be your self-accusing sorrow: yet, think of Mahoba!"

"Destruction to Mahoba! Annihilation to the Chundail who, without fault, expelled us our home: in whose service fell our father, by whom his kingdom was extended. Send the slanderous Purihara—let him lead your armies against the heroes of Delhi. Our heads were the pillars of Mahoba; by us were the Goands expelled and their strong-holds Deogurh and Chandbari added to his sway. We maintained the field against the Jadoon, sacked Hindown,* and planted his standard on the plains of Kuttair. It was I (continued Ala) who stopped the sword of the conquering Cutchwaha.† The Amirs of the Sooltan fled before us.—At Gaya we were victorious, and added Rewah‡ to his kingdom. Anterved§ I gave to the flames, and levelled to the ground the towns of Mewat.‖ From ten princes did Jessraj bring spoil to Mahoba. This have we done; and the reward is exile from our home! Seven times have I received wounds in his service, and since my father's death gained forty battles; and from seven has Udila conveyed the *record of victory*¶ to Purmal. Thrice my death seemed inevitable. The honour of his house I have upheld—yet exile is my reward?"

The bard replies—"The father of Purmal left him when a child to the care of Jessraj. Your father was in lieu of his own; the son should not abandon him when misfortune makes him call on you. The Rajpoot who abandons his sovereign in distress will be plunged into hell. Then place on your head

* Hindown was a town dependent on Biana, the capital of the Jadoons, whose descendants still occupy Kerowli and Sri Mathura.

† Rao Pujaon of Ambar, one of the great vassals of the Chohan, and ancestor of the present Raja of Jeypur.

‡ In the original, "the land of the Bhagel to that of the Chundail." Rewah is capital of Bhagelkhund, founded by the Bhagela Rajpoot, a branch of the Solanki kings of Anhulwarra.

§ Anterved, the Do-ab, or Mesopotamia of the Jumna and Ganges.

‖ A district S. W. of Delhi, notorious for the lawless habits of its inhabitants: a very ancient Hindu race, but the greater part forced proselytes to the faith of Islam. In the time of Prithwiraj the chief of Mewat was one of his vassals.

¶ *Jayatpatra*, or 'bulletin of victory.'

the loyalty of your father. Can you desire to remain at Canouj while he is in trouble, who expended thousands in rejoicings for your birth? Malundevi (the queen), who loves you as her own, presses your return.—She bids me demand of Dewuldevi fulfilment of the oft-repeated vow that your life and Mahoba, when endangered, were inseparable. The breaker of vows, despised on earth, will be plunged into hell, there to remain while sun and moon endure."

Dewuldevi heard the message of the queen. "Let us fly to Mahoba," she exclaimed. Ala was silent, while Udila said aloud, "May evil spirits seize upon Mahoba!—Can we forget the day when, in distress, he drove us forth?—Return to Mahoba—let it stand or fall, it is the same to me; Canouj is henceforth my home."

"Would that the gods had made me barren," said Dewuldevi, "that I had never borne sons who thus abandon the paths of the Rajpoot, and refuse to succour their prince in danger!" Her heart bursting with grief, and her eyes raised to heaven, she continued: "Was it for this, O universal lord, thou mad'st me feel a mother's pangs for these destroyers of Binafur's fame? Unworthy offspring! the heart of the true Rajpoot dances with joy at the mere name of strife—but ye, degenerate, cannot be the sons of Jessraj—some carl must have stolen to my embrace, and from such ye must be sprung." The young chiefs arose, their faces withered in sadness. "When we perish in defence of Mahoba, and covered with wounds, perform deeds that will leave a deathless name; when our heads roll in the field—when we embrace the valiant in fight and treading in the footsteps of the brave, make resplendent the blood of both lines, even in the presence of the heroes of the Chohan, then will our mother rejoice."

The envoy having, by this loyal appeal of Dewuldevi, attained the object of his mission, the brothers repair to the monarch of Canouj,* in order to ask permission to return to Mahoba; this is granted, and they are dismissed with magnificent gifts, in which the bardic herald participated;† and the parting valediction was "*preserve the faith of Rajpoots.*" The omens during the march were of the worst kind: as Jugnuk expounded them, Ala with a smile replied, "Oh bard, though thou canst dive into the dark recesses of futurity, to the

* Jeichund was then king of this city, only second to Delhi. He was attacked in 1193 (A. D.) by Shabudin, after his conquest of the Chohan, driven from his kingdom, and found a watery grave in the Ganges.

† Jugnuk had two villages conferred upon him, besides an elephant and a dress.

brave all omens are happy, even though our heroes shall fall, and the fame of the Chundail must depart; thus in secret does my soul assure me." The sarus* was alone on the right—the eagle as he flew dropped his prey—the chukwa† separated from his mate—drops fell from the eyes of the warlike steed—the shial‡ sent forth sounds of lamentation; spots were seen on the disc of the sun. The countenance of Lakhun fell;§ these portents filled his soul with dismay: but Ala said, "though these omens bode death, yet death to the valiant, to the pure in faith, is an object of desire not of sorrow. The path of the Rajpoot is beset with difficulties, rugged, and filled with thorns; but he regards it not, so it but conducts to battle."—To carry joy to Purmal alone occupied their thoughts: the steeds bounded over the plain like the swift-footed deer. The brothers, ere they reached Mahoba, halted to put on the *saffron robe*, the sign of "*no quarter*" with the Rajpoot warrior. The intelligence of their approach filled the Chundail prince with joy, who advanced to embrace his defenders, and conduct them to Mahoba; while the queen Malundevi came to greet Dewuldevi, who with the herald bard, paid homage, and returned with the queen to the city. Rich gifts were presented, gems resplendent with light. The queen sent for Ala, and extending her hands over his head, bestowed the *asees*‖ (blessing), as kneeling he swore, his head was with Mahoba, and then waved a vessel filled with pearls over his head, which were distributed to his followers.¶

The bardic herald was rewarded with four villages. We are then introduced to the Chohan camp and council, where Chund the bard is expatiating on the return of the Binafurs with the succours of Canouj. He recommends his sovereign to send a herald to the Chundail to announce the expiration of the truce, and requiring him to meet him in the field, or abandon Mahoba. According to the bard's advice, a despatch was transmitted to Purmal, in which the cause of war was recapitulated—the murder of the wounded; and stating that, accord-

* The phenicopteros.

† A large red duck, the emblem of fidelity with the Rajpoots.

‡ The jackal.

§ Commander of the succours of Canouj.

‖ *Asees* is a form of benediction only bestowed by females and priests: it is performed by clasping both hands over the person's head, and waving a piece of silver or other valuable over him, which is bestowed in charity.

¶ This is a very ancient ceremony, and is called *Nachravali*. The author has frequently had a large salver filled with silver coin waved over his head, which was handed for distribution amongst his attendants. It is most appropriate from the fair, from whom also he has had this performed by their proxies, the family priest or female attendants.

ing to Rajpoot faith, he had granted seven days beyond the time demanded, "and although so many days had passed since succour had arrived from Canouj, the lion-horn had not yet sounded (*sing-nad*):" adding: "if he abandon all desire of combat, let him proclaim his vassalage to Delhi, and abandon Mahoba."

Purmal received the hostile message in despair: but calling his warriors around him, he replied to the herald of the Chohan, that "on the day of the sun, the first of the month, he would join him in strife."

"On the day sacred to *Sucra* (Friday), Pirthwiraj sounded the shell, while the drums thrice struck, proclaimed the truce concluded.* The standard was brought forth, around which the warriors gathered; the cup circulated, the prospect of battle filled their souls with joy. They anointed their bodies with fragrant oils, while the celestial apsaras with ambrosial oils and heavenly perfumes anointed their silver forms, tinged their eyelids, and prepared for the reception of heroes.† The sound of the warshell reached Koylas; the abstraction of Iswara was at an end—joy seized his soul at the prospect of completing his chaplet of skulls (*moonda-mala*). The Yoginis danced with joy, their faces sparkled with delight as they seized their vessels to drink the blood of the slain. The devourers of flesh, the *Palcharas*, sung songs of triumph at the game of battle between the Chohan and Chundail."

In another measure, the bard proceeds to contrast the occupations of his heroes and the celestials, preparatory to the combat, which descriptions are termed *rupaca*. "The heroes gird on their armour, while the heavenly fair deck their persons. They place on their heads the helm crowned with the war-bell (*vira-ghanta*), these adjust the corset; they draw the girths of the war-steed, the fair of the world of bliss bind the anklet of bells; nets of steel defend the turban's fold, they braid their hair with golden flowers and gems; the warrior polishes his falchion—the fair tints the eyelid with *unjun*; the hero points his dagger, the fair paints a heart on her forehead; he braces on his ample buckler—she places the resplendent orb in her ear; he binds his arms with a gauntlet of brass—she stains her hands with the *henna*. The hero docorates his hand with

* The Sankh, or war-shell, is thrice sounded, and the nakarras strike thrice, when the army is to march; but should it after such proclamation remain on its ground, a scape-goat is slain in front of the imperial tent.

† This picture recalls the remembrance of Hacon and the heroes of the north, with the Valkyrias or choosers of the slain, the celestial maids of war of Scandinavia.

the tiger-claw*—the Apsara ornaments with rings and golden bracelets; the warrior shakes the ponderous lance—the heavenly fair, the garland of love,† to decorate those who fall in the fight; she binds on a necklace of pearls, he a *mala* of the tulasi.‡ The warrior strings his bow—the fair assume their killing glances. Once more the heroes look to their girths, while the celestial fair prepare their cars."

After the bard has finished his *rupaca*, he exclaims. "Thus says Chund, the lord of verse; with my own eyes have I seen what I describe." It is important to remark, that the national faith of the Rajpoot never questions the prophetic power of their chief bard, whom they call *Tricala*, or cognoscent of the past, the present, and the future—a character which the bard has enjoyed in all ages and climes; but Chund was the last whom they admitted to possess supernatural vision.

We must now return to Mahoba, where a grand council had assembled at a final deliberation; at which, shaded by screens, the mother of the Binafurs, and the queen Malundevi, were present. The latter thus opens the debate: "Oh mother of Ala, how may we succeed against the lord of the world?§ If defeated, lost is Mahoba; if we pay tribute, we are loaded with shame." Dewuldevi recommends hearing *seriatim* the opinions of the chieftains, when Ala thus speaks: "Listen, O mother, to your son; he alone is of pure lineage who, placing loyalty on his head, abandons all thoughts of self, and lays down his life for his prince; my thoughts are only for Purmal. *If she lives* she will show herself a woman, or emanation of Parvati.‖ The warriors of Sambhur shall be cut in pieces. I will so illustrate the blood of my fathers, that my fame shall last for ever. My son Eendal, Oh Prince! I bequeath to you, and the fame of Dewuldevi is in your keeping."

The queen thus replies: "The warriors of the Chohan are fierce as they are numerous; pay tribute, and save Mahoba." The soul of Udila inflamed, and turning to the queen, "Why thought you not thus when you slew the defenceless? But then I was unheard. Whence now your wisdom? Thrice I beseeched you to pardon. Nevertheless, Mahoba is safe while

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* Bagh-nuk, or Nahar-nuk.

† Burmala.

‡ *Mala*, a necklace. The *tulasi* or *rudraca* had the same estimation amongst the Hindus that the mistletoe had amongst the ancient Britons, and was always worn in battle as a charm.

§ *Prithwiraj.*

‖ A Rajpoot never names his wife. Here it is evidently optional to the widow to live or die, though Ala shews his wish for her society above. See Chapter on *Satis*, which will follow.

life remains in me, and in your cause, Oh Purmal! we shall espouse celestial brides."

"Well have you spoken, my son," said Dewuldevi, "nothing now remains but to make thy parent's milk resplendent by thy deeds. The calls of the peasant driven from his home meets the ear, and while we deliberate, our villages are given to the flames." But Purmal replied: "Saturn* rules the day, to-morrow we shall meet the foe." With indignation Ala turned to the king: "He who can look tamely on while the smoke ascends from his ruined towns, his fields laid waste, can be no Rajpoot—he who succumbs to fear when his country is invaded, his body will be plunged into the hell of hells, his soul a wanderer in the world of spirits for sixty thousand years; but the warrior who performs his duty will be received into the mansion of the sun, and his deeds will last for ever."

But cowardice and cruelty always accompany each other, nor could all the speeches of the brothers "screw his courage to the sticking place." Purmal went to his queen, and gave fresh vent to his lamentation. She upbraided his unmanly spirit, and bid him head his troops and go forth to the fight. The heroes embraced their wives for the last time, and with the *davit* performed their pious rites. The Binafur offered oblations to the nine planets, and having adored the image of his tutelary god, he again put the chain round his neck;† then calling his son Eendal, and Udila his brother, he once more poured forth his vows to the universal mother "that he would illustrate the name of Jessraj, and evince the pure blood derived from Dewuldevi, whenever he met the foe."—"Nobly have you resolved," said Udila, "and shall not my *kirban*‡ also dazzle the eyes of Sambhur's lord? shall he not retire from before me?"—"Farewell, my children," said Dewuldevi, "*be true to your salt*, and should you lose your heads for your prince, doubt not you will obtain the celestial crown." Having ceased, the wives of both exclaimed, "What virtuous wife survives her lord? for thus says Gori-ji§ 'the woman, who survives her husband, who falls in the field of battle, will never obtain bliss, but wander a discontented ghost in the region of unhallowed spirits.'"

This is sufficient to exhibit the supreme influence of women, not only on, but also in society.

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* Sanichur.

† It was a *juntur* or phylactery of Hanooman, the monkey deity; probably a magical stanza, with his image.

‡ A crooked scimitar.

§ One of the names of Mera or Parvati. This passage will illustrate the subject of *Satee* in a future chapter.

The extract is taken from the Bardic historian, when Hindu customs were pure, and the Chohan was paramount sovereign of India. It is worth while to compare it with another written six centuries after the conquest by the Mahomedans. Although six dynasties—namely Ghizni, Gor, Khiliji, Seyed, Lodi, and Mogul, numbering more than thirty kings, had intervened, yet the same uncontrollable spirit was in full force, unchangeable even in misfortune. Both Hindu and Persian historians expatiate with delight on the anecdote; but we prefer the narrative of the ingenuous Bernier, under whose eye the incident occurred.

In the civil war for empire amongst the sons of Shah Jehan, when Arungzebe opened his career by the deposal of his father and the murder of his brothers, the Rajpoots, faithful to the emperor, determined to oppose him. Under the intrepid Rathore, Jeswunt Sing, thirty thousand Rajpoots, chiefly of that clan, advanced to the Nerbudda, and with a magnanimity amounting to imprudence, they permitted the junction of Morad with Arungzebe, who under cover of artillery served by Frenchmen, crossed the river almost unopposed. Next morning the action commenced, which continued throughout the day. The Rajpoots behaved with their usual bravery; but were surrounded on all sides, and by sunset left ten thousand dead on the field.* The Maharaja retreated to his own country, but his wife, a daughter of the Rana of Oodipur, "disdained (says Ferishta) to receive her lord, and shut the gates of the castle."

Bernier, who was present, says, "I cannot forbear to relate the fierce reception which the daughter of the Rana gave to her husband, Jesswunt Sing, after his defeat and flight. When she heard he was nigh, and had undertsood what had passed in the battle; that he had fought with all possible courage; that he had but four or five hundred men left; and at last, no longer able to resist the enemy, had been forced to retreat; instead of sending some one to condole him in his misfortunes, she commanded in a dry mood to shut the gates of the castle, and not to let this infamous man enter; that he was not her husband; that the son-in-law of the great Rana could not have so mean a soul: that he was to remember, that being grafted into so illustrious a house, he was to imitate its virtue; in a word, he was to vanquish, or to die. A moment after, she was of another humour; she commands

* "'Tis a pleasure (says Bernier) to see them with the fume of opium in their heads, embrace each other when the battle is to begin, and give their mutual farewells, as men resolved to die."

a pile of wood to be laid, that she might burn herself; that they abused her; that her husband must needs be dead; that it could not be otherwise. And a little while after, she was seen to change countenance, to fall into a passion, and break into a thousand reproaches against him. In short, she remained thus transported eight or nine days, without being able to resolve to see her husband, till at last her mother coming, brought her in time to herself, composed by assuring her that as soon as the Raja had but refreshed himself he would raise another army to fight Arungzebe, and repair his honour. By which story one may see," says Bernier, "a pattern of the courage of the women in that country;" and he adds this philosophical corollary on this and the custom of suttees, which he had witnessed; "*There is nothing which opinion, prepossession, custom, hope, and the point of honour, may not make men do or suffer.*"*

The romantic history of the Chohan emperor of Delhi abounds in sketches of female character; and in the story of his carrying off Sunjogta, the princess of Canouj, we have not only the individual portrait of the Helen of her country, but in it a faithful picture of the sex. We see her, from the moment when, rejecting the assembled princes, she threw the "garland of marriage" round the neck of her hero, the Chohan, abandon herself to all the influences of passion—mix in a combat of five days' continuance against her father's array, witness his overthrow, and the carnage of both armies, and subsequently, by her seductive charms, lull her lover into a neglect of every princely duty. Yet when the foes of his glory and power invade India, we see the enchantress at once start from her trance of pleasure, and exchanging the softer for the [illegible] passions, in accents not less strong because mingled with deep affection, she conjures him, while arming him for the battle, to die for his fame, declaring that she will join him in "the mansions of the sun." Though it is difficult to extract, in passages sufficiently condensed, what may convey a just idea of this heroine, we shall attempt it in the bard's own language, rendered into prose. He announces the tidings of invasion by the medium of a dream, which the Chohan thus relates:—

"This night, while in the arms of sleep, a fair, beautiful as Rembha, rudely seized my arm; then she assailed you, and while you were struggling, a mighty elephant,† infuriated, and

* Bernier's History of the late Revolution of the Empire of the Mogul, fol. p. 13, ed. 1684.

† It is deemed unlucky to see this emblem of Ganesa in sleep.

hideous as a demon, bore down upon me. Sleep fled—nor Rembha nor demon remained—but my heart was panting, and my quivering lips muttering *Hur! Hur!** What is decreed the gods only know."

Sunjogta replied, 'Victory and fame to my lord! Oh sun of the Chohans, in glory, or in pleasure, who has tasted so deeply as you? To die is the destiny not only of man but of the gods: all desire to throw off the old garment; but to die well is to live for ever. Think not of self, but of immortality; let your sword divide your foe, and I will be your *ardhanga*† hereafter.'

"The king sought the bard, who expounded the dream, and the Guru wrote an incantation, which he placed in his turban. A thousand brass vessels of fresh milk were poured in libations to the sun and moon, Ten buffaloes were sacrificed to the supporters of the globe, and gifts were made to all. But will offerings of blood or libations of milk arrest what is decreed? If by these man could undo what is ordained, would Nala or the Pandus have suffered as they did?"

While the warriors assemble in council to consult on the best mode of opposing the Sultan of Ghizni, the king leaves them to deliberate, in order to advise with Sunjogta. Her reply is curious:

"Who asks woman for advice? The world deems their understanding shallow; even when truths issue from their lips, none listen thereto. Yet what is the world without woman? We have the forms of Sacti with the fire of Siva; we are at once thieves and sanctuaries; we are vessels of virtue and of vice—of knowledge and of ignorance. The man of wisdom, the astrologer, can from *the books* calculate the motion and course of the planets; but in the book of woman he is ignorant: and this is not a saying of to-day, it ever has been so: our book has not been mastered, therefore, to hide their ignorance, they say, in woman there is no wisdom! Yet woman shares your joys and your sorrows. Even when you depart for the mansion of the sun, we part not. Hunger and thirst we cheerfully partake with you; we are as the lakes, of which you are the swans; what are you when absent from our bosoms?"

The army having assembled, and all being prepared to march against the Islamite, in the last great battle which subjugated India, the fair Sunjogta armed her lord for the encounter. In vain she sought the rings of his corslet; her eyes were

* The battle-shout of the Rajpoot.

† 'Half-body,' which we may render, in common phraseology, "*other half.*"

fixed on the face of the Chohan, as those of the famished wretch who finds a piece of gold. The sound of the drum reached the ear of the Chohan; it was as a death-knell on that of Sunjogta: and as he left her to head Delhi's heroes, she vowed that henceforward water only should sustain her. "I shall see him again in the region of Surya, but never more in Yoginipur."* Her prediction was fulfilled: her lord was routed, made captive and slain; and, faithful to her vow, she mounted the funeral pyre.

Were we called upon to give a pendant for Lucretia, it would be found in the queen of Ganore. After having defended five fortresses against the foe, she retreated to her last stronghold on the Nerbudda, and had scarcely left the bark, when the assailants arrived in pursuit. The disheartened defenders were few in number, and the fortress was soon in possession of the foe, the founder of the family now ruling in Bhopal. The beauty of the queen of Canore was an allurement only secondary to his desire for her country, and he invited her to reign over it and him. Denial would have been useless, and would have subjected her to instant coercion, for the Khan awaited her reply in the hall below; she therefore sent a message of assent, with a complimentary reflection on his gallant conduct and determination of pursuit; adding, that he merited her hand for his bravery, and might prepare for the nuptials, which should be celebrated on the terrace of the palace. She demanded two hours for unmolested preparation, that she might appear in appropriate attire, and with the distinction her own and his rank demanded.

Ceremonials, on a scale of magnificence equal to the shortness of the time, were going on. The song of joy had already stifled the discordant voice of war, and at length the Khan was summoned to the terrace robed in the marriage garb presented to him by the queen, with a necklace and aigrette of superb jewels from the coffers of Ganore. He hastened to obey the mandate, and found that fame had not done justice to her charms. He was desired to be seated, and in conversation full of rapture on his side, hours were as minutes while he gazed on the beauty of the queen. But presently his countenance fell—he complained of heat; punkhas and water were brought, but they availed him not, and he began to tear the bridal garments from his frame, when the queen thus addressed him: "Know, Khan, that your last hour is come; our wedding and our death shall be sealed together. The vestments which cover you are poisoned; you had left me no other expedient to es-

* Delhi,

"pe pollution." While all were horror-struck by this declaration, she sprung from the battlements into the flood beneath. The Khan died in extreme torture, and was buried on the road to Bhopal; and, strange to say, a visit to his grave has the reputation of curing the tertian of that country.

We may give another anecdote illustrative of this extreme delicacy of sentiment, but without so tragical a conclusion. The celebrated Raja Jey Sing of Ambar had espoused a princess of Haravati, whose manners and garb, accordant with the simplicity of that provincial capital, subjected her to the *badinage* of the more refined court of Ambar, whose ladies had added the imperial costume to their own native dress. One day being alone with the princess, he began playfully to contrast the sweeping *jupe* of Kotah with the more scanty robe of the belles of his own capital; and taking up a pair of scissors, said he would reduce it to an equality with the latter. Offended at such levity, she seized his sword, and assuming a threatening attitude, said, "that in the house to which she had the honour to belong, they were not habituated to jests of this nature; that mutual respect was the guardian, not only of happiness but of virtue;" and she assured him, that if he ever again so insulted her, he would find that the daughter of Kotah could use a sword more effectively than the prince of Ambar the scissors; adding, that she would prevent any future scion of her house from being subjected to similar disrespect, by declaring such intermarriages '*tilac*,' or forbidden, which interdict I believe yet exists.*

I will append an anecdote related by the celebrated Zalim Sing, characteristic of the presence of mind, prowess, and physical strength of the Rajpoot women. To attend and aid in the minutiæ of husbandry is by no means uncommon with them, as to dress and carry the meals of their husbands to the fields is a general practice. In the jungle which skirts the knolls of Puchapahar, a huge bear assaulted a Rajpootni as she was carrying her husband's dinner. As he approached with an air of gallantry upon his hind-legs, doubting whether the food or herself were the intended prey, she retreated behind a large tree, round the trunk of which Bruin, still in his erect attitude, tried all his powers of circumvention to seize her. At length, half exhausted, she boldly grasped his paws, and with so vigorous a hold that he roared with pain, while in vain, with

* The physician (unless he unite with his office that of ghostly comforter) has to feel the pulse of his patient with a curtain between them, through a rent, in which the arm is extended.

his short neck, did he endeavour to reach the powerful hand which fixed him. While she was in this dilemma, a *purdesi* (a foreign soldier of the state) happened to be passing to the garrison of Gagrown, and she called out to him in a voice of such unconcern to come and release her for a time, that he complied without hesitation. She had not retired, however, above a dozen yards ere he called loudly for her return, being scarcely able to hold his new friend; but laughingly recommending perseverance, she hastened on, and soon returned with her husband, who laid the monster prostrate with his matchlock, and rescued the *purdesi* from his unpleasing predicament.

Such anecdotes might be multiplied *ad infinitum*; but I will conclude with one displaying the romantic chivalry of the Rajpoot, and the influence of the fair in the formation of character; it is taken from the annals of Jessulmeer, the most remote of the states of Rajasthan, and situated in the heart of the desert, of which it is an oasis.

Raningdeo was lord of Poogul, a fief of Jessulmeer; his heir, named Sadoo, was the terror of the desert, carrying his raids even to the valley of the Indus, and on the east to Nagore. Returning from a foray, with a train of captured camels and horses, he passed by Aureent, where dwelt Manik Rao, the chief of the Mohils, whose rule extended over 1440 villages. Being invited to partake of the hospitality of the Mohil, the heir of Poogul attracted the favourable regards of the old chieftain's daughter:

"She loved him for the dangers he had passed;"

for he had the fame of being the first reiver of the desert. Although betrothed to the heir of the Rahtore of Mundore, she signified her wish to renounce the throne to be the bride of the chieftain of Poogul; and in spite of the dangers he provoked, and contrary to the Mohil chief's advice, Sadoo, as a gallant Rajpoot, dared not reject the overture, and he promised "*to accept the coco*,"* if sent in form to Poogul. In due time it came, and the nuptials were solemnized at Aureent. The dower was splendid; gems of high price, vessels of gold and silver, a golden bull, and a train of thirteen *dewadhuris*,† or damsels of wisdom and penetration.

Irrinkowal, the slighted heir of Mundore, determined on revenge, and with four thousand Rahtores planted himself in the path of Sadoo's return, aided by the Sankla Megraj, whose son Sadoo had slain. Though entreated to add four

* Sriphala.

† Literally 'lamp-holders;' such is the term applied to these handmaids, who invariably form a part of the *deja*, or 'dower.

thousand Mohils to his escort, Sadoo deemed his own gallant band of seven hundred Bhattis sufficient to convey his bride to his desert abode, and with difficulty accepted fifty, led by Megraj, the brother of the bride.

The rivals encountered at Chondun, where Sadoo had halted to repose; but the brave Rahtore scorned the advantage of numbers, and a series of single combats ensued, with all the forms of chivalry. The first who entered the lists was Jeytanga, of the Pahoo clan, and of the kin of Sadoo. The enemy came upon him by surprise while reposing on the ground, his saddle-cloth for his couch, and the bridle of his steed twisted round his arm; he was soon recognized by the Sankla, who had often encountered his prowess, on which he expatiated to Irrinkowal, who sent an attendant to awake him; but the gallant *Panch Kalyan* (for such was the name of his steed) had already performed this service, and they found him upbraiding *white-legs** for treading upon him. Like a true Rajpoot, "*toujours prêt*," he received the hostile message, and sent the envoy back with his compliments, and a request for some *uml* or opium, as he had lost his own supply. With all courtesy this was sent, and prepared by the domestics of his antagonist; after taking which he lay down to enjoy the customary *siesta*. As soon as he awoke, he prepared for the combat, girt on his armour, and having reminded Panch Kalyan of the fields he had won, and telling him to bear him well that day, he mounted and advanced. The son of Chonda admiring his *sang froid*, and the address with which he guided his steed, commanded Joda Chohan, the leader of his party, to encounter the Pahoo. "Their two-edged swords soon clashed in combat;" but the gigantic Chohan fell beneath the Bhatti, who, warmed with the fight, plunged amidst his foes, encountering all he deemed worthy his assault.

The fray thus begun, single combats and actions of equal parties followed, the rivals looking on. At length Sadoo mounted; twice he charged the Rahtore ranks, carrying death on his lance; each time he returned for the applause of his bride, who beheld the battle from her car. Six hundred of his foes had fallen, and nearly half his own warriors. He bade her a last adieu, while she exhorted him to the fight, saying, "she would witness his deeds, and if he fell, would follow him even in death." Now he singled out his rival

* Panch Kalyan is generally, if not always, a chestnut, having four white legs, with a white nose and list or star.

Irrinkowal,* who was alike eager to end the strife, and blot out his disgrace in his blood. They met: some seconds were lost in a courteous contention, each yielding to his rival the first blow, at length dealt out by Sadoo on the neck of the disappointed Rahtore. It was returned with the rapidity of lightning, and the daughter of the Mohil saw the steel descend on the head of her lover. Both fell prostrate to the earth: but Sadoo's soul had sped; the Rahtore had only swooned. With the fall of the leaders the battle ceased; and the fair cause of strife, Korumdevi, at once a virgin, a wife, and a widow, prepared to follow her affianced. Calling for a sword, with one arm she dissevered the other, desiring it might be conveyed to the father of her lord—"tell him such was his daughter." The other she commanded to be struck off, and given, with her marriage jewels thereon, to the bard of the Mohils. The pile was prepared on the field of battle; and taking her lord in her embrace, she gave herself up to the devouring flames. The dissevered limbs were disposed of as commanded; the old Rao of Poogul caused the one to be burnt, and a tank was excavated on the spot, which is still called after the heroine, "the lake of Korumdevi."

This encounter took place in S. 1492, A.D. 1407. The brunt of the battle fell on the Sanklas, and only twenty five out of three hundred and fifty left the field with their leader, Megraj, himself severely wounded. The rejected lover had four brothers dangerously hurt; and in six months the wounds of Irrinkowal opened afresh: he died, and the rites to the manes of these rivals in love, the *chaomassa*† of Sadoo, and the *duadasa*‡ of Irrinkowal, were celebrated on the same day.

Without pausing to trace the moral springs of that devotion which influenced the Mohil maiden, we shall relate the sequel to the story (though out of place)§ in illustration of the prosecution of feuds throughout Rajasthan. The fathers now took up the quarrel of their sons; and as it was by the prowess of the Sankla vassal of Mundore that the band of Sadoo was discomfited, the old Rao Raningdeo, drew together the lances of Poogul, and carried destruction into the fief of Megraj. The Sanklas yield in valour to none of the brave

* *Arankowal*, 'the lotus of the desert,' from *aranya* (Sanskrit), 'a waste,' and *comola* (pronounced *kowal*), 'a lotus:' classically it should be written *aranyomala*; I write it as pronounced.

† The rites to the manes on the completion of the 'sixth month.'

‡ The rites to the manes on the 'twelfth day.'

§ The greater portion of these anecdotes, the foundation of national character, will appear in the respective annals.

races who inhabit the "*region of death*;" and Megraj was the father of Harba Sankla, the Palladin of Maroodes, whose exploits are yet the theme of the erratic bards of Rajasthan. Whether he was unprepared for the assault, or overcome by numbers, three hundred of his kin and clan moistened the sand-hills of the Looni with their blood. Raningdeo, flushed with revenge and laden with spoil had reached his own frontier, when he was overtaken by Chonda of Mundore, alike eager to avenge the loss of his son Irrinkowal, and this destructive inroad on his vassal. A desperate conflict ensued, in which the Rao of Poogul was slain; and the Rahtore returned in triumph to Mundore.

Unequal to cope with the princes of Mundore, the two remaining sons of Raningdeo, Tunno and Mairah, resolved to adandon their faith, in order to preserve the point of honour, and "to take up *their father's feud*."* At this period the king, Khizer Khan, was at Mooltan; to him they went, and by offers of service and an open apostacy, obtained a force to march against Chonda, who had recently added Nagore to his growing dominions. While the brothers were thus negotiating, they were joined by Keelun, the third son of their common sovereign, the Rewul of Jessulmeer, who advised the use of *chul*, which with the Rajpoot means indifferently, stratagem or treachery, so that it facilitates revenge. With the ostensible motive of ending their feuds, and restoring tranquillity to their brothers, whose sole occupation was watching, burning, and divastating, Keelun offered a daughter in marriage to Chonda, and went so far as to say, that if he suspected aught unfair, he would, though contrary to custom and his own dignity, send the Bhatti princess to Nagore. This course being deemed the wisest, Chonda acquiesced in his desire "to extinguish the feud (*wer bujaona*)."

Fifty covered chariots were prepared as the nuptial *cortege*, but which, instead of the bride and her handmaids, contained the bravest men of Poogul. These were preceded by a train of horses led by Rajpoots, of whom seven hundred also attended the camels laden with baggage, provisions, and gifts, while a small armed retinue brought up the rear. The king's troops, amounting to one thousand horse, remained at a cautious distance behind. Chonda left Nagore to meet the cavalcade and his bride, and had reached the chariots ere his suspicions were excited. Observing, however, some matters which little savoured of festivity, the Rahtore commenced his retreat. Upon this the chiefs rushed from their chariots and camels,

* Bap ra wer lena.

and the royal auxiliaries advancing, Chonda was assailed and fell at the gate of Nagore; and friend and foe entering the city together, a scene of general plunder commenced.

Once more the feud was balanced; a son and a father had fallen on each side, and the petty Rao of Poogul had bravely maintained the *wer* against the princes of Mundore. The point of honour had been carried to the utmost bound by both parties, and an opportunity of reconciliation was at hand, which prevented the shadow of disgrace either to him who made or him who accepted the overture. The Rahtores dreaded the loss of the recent acquisition, Nagore, and proposed to the Bhattis to seal their pacification with the blood of their common foe. United, they fell on the spoil-encumbered Tatars, whom they slew to a man.* Their father's feud thus revenged, the sons of [illegible]rdeo (who, as apostates from their faith, could no longer [illegible] Poogul in fief, which was retained by Keelun, who [illegible] their revenge) retired amongst the *Abhoria Bhattis*, [illegible] descendants are now styled *Moomun Musulman Bh[illegible]*.

From such anecdotes, it [illegible]ous wherein consists the point of honour with the Rajpoots; and it is not improbable that the very cause which has indued an opinion that females can have no influence on the lords of the creation, namely, their seclusion, operates powerfully in the contrary way.

In spite of this seclusion, the knowledge of their accomplishments and of their personal perfections, radiates whereve[illegible] e itinerant bard can travel. Though invisible themselves [illegible]ey can see; and accident often favours public report, and [illegible]ings the object of renown within the sphere of persona[illegible] rvation: as in the case of Sadoo and the Mohila maiden [illegible]ed behind screens, they see the youths of all countries [illegible] there are occasions when permanent impressions are made [illegible]ng tournaments and other martial exercises, Here w[illegible] just seen, that the passion of the daughter of the Moh[illegible] fostered at the risk of the destruction not only of l[illegible] her's house, but also that of her lover; and as the fourtee[illegible] dred and forty towns, which owned the sway of the forme[illegible] e not long after absorbed into the accumulating territor[illegible] Mundore, this insult may have been the cause of the exti[illegible] on of the Mohils, as it was of the Bhattis of Poog[illegible] The influence of women on Rajpoot society is marked

* Khizer Khan succeeded to the throne of Delhi in A. D. 141[illegible] ng to the Jessulmeer annals, the commencement of these feu[illegible]

every page of Hindu history, from the most remote periods. What led to the wars of Rama? the rape of Sita. What rendered deadly the feuds of the Yadus? the insult to Droupadi. What made prince Nala an exile from Nirwur? his love for Damayanti. What made Raja Bhartri abandon the throne of Avanti? the loss of Pingala. What subjected the Hindu to the dominion of the Ismite? the rape of the princess of Canouj. In fine, the cause which overturned kingdoms, commuted the sceptre to the pilgrim's staff, and formed the groundwork of all their grand epics, is woman. In ancient, and even in modern times, she had more than a negative in the choice of a husband, and the choice fell on the gallant and the gay. The fair Drouadi was the prize of the best archer, and the Pandu Arjuna established his fame, and bore her from all the suitors of Kanouj. The princess of Canouj, when led through ranks of princes of Hind, each hoping to be the object of her choice, threw the marriage-garland (*burmala*) over the neck of effigy of the Chohan, which her father in derision had placed as porter at the gate. Here was incense to fame and love to gallantry!*

In the same manner, as related in another part of this work, did the princess of Kishengurh invite Rana Raj Sing to bear her from the impending union with the emperor of the Moguls; and abundant other instances could be adduced of the free agency of these invisibles.

It were superfluous to reason on the effects of traditional histories, such as these, on the minds and manners of the females of Rajasthan. They form the amusement of the wives, and the grand topic in all their conversaziones. They read them with the *Purohit*, and they have them sung by the itinerant bard or Dholi minstrel, who disseminates them wherever the Rajpoot name extends. The Rajpoot mother claims her full share in the glory of her son, who imbibes at the maternal fount his first rudiments

* The Samnite custom, so lauded by Montesquieu as the reward of youthful virtue, was akin in sentiment to the Rajpoot, except that the Rajpootni made herself the sole judge of merit in her choice. It was more calculated for republican than aristocratic society:—"On assembloit les jeunes, gens et on les jugeoit: celui qui etait declare le meilieur devenoit pour sa femme la fille qu'il vouloit: l'amour, la beaute, la chesteté, la vertu, la naissance, les richesses meme, tout "cela etait, pour ainsi dire, de la vertu." It would be difficult, adds Motesquieu, to imagine a more noble recompense, or one less expensive to a petty state, or more essential on the conduct of both sexes.—*L'Esprit des Lois.* Ch. [illegible] VOL. II.

pious austerity; but a widow, who slights her deceased husband by *marrying again*, brings disgrace on herself here below, and shall be excluded from the seat of her lord."*

These and many other texts, enjoining purity of life and manners to the widow, are to be found in this first authority, but none demanding such a cruel pledge of affection. Abstinence from the common pursuits of life and entire self-denial, are rewarded by "high renown in this world, and in the next the abode of her husband;" and procure for her the title of "*sadhvi*" or the *virtuous*. These are deemed sufficient pledges of affection by the first of sages.† So much has been written on this subject, that we shall not pursue it further in this place; but proceed to consider a still more inhuman practice, infanticide.

Although custom sanctions, and religion rewards, a Sati, the victim to marital selfishness, yet, to the honour of humanity, neither traditionary adage nor religious text can be quoted in support of a practice so revolting as infanticide. Man alone, of

* Manu *on Women*, chap. v. text 157, 160, 161.

† Were all Manu's maxims on this head collected, and with other good authorities, printed, circulated, and supported by Hindu missionaries, who might be brought to advocate the abolition of Satiism, some good might be effected. Let every text tending to the respectability of widowhood be made prominent, and degrade the opponents by enumerating the weak points they abound in. Instance the polyandrism which prevailed among the Pandus, whose high priest, Vyasa, was an illegitimate branch; though above all would be the efficacy of the abolition of polygamy, which in the lower classes leaves women destitute, and in the higher condemns them to mortification and neglect. Whatever result such a course might produce, there can be no danger in the experiment. Such sacrifices must operate powerfully on manners; and, barbarous as is the custom, yet while it springs from the same principle, it ought to improve the condition of women from the fear that harsh treatment of them might defeat the atonement hereafter. Let the advocate for the abolition of this practice by the hand of power, read attentively Mr. Colebrooke's essay "On the duties of a faithful Hindu Widow," in the fourth volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, to correct the notion that there is no adequate religious ordinance for the horrid sacrifice. Mr. C. observes (p. 220): "Though an alternative be allowed, the Hindu legislators have shewn themselves disposed to encourage widows to burn themselves with their husband's corpse." In this paper he will find too many authorities deemed sacred for its support; but it is only by knowing the full extent of the prejudices, and carefully collecting the conflicting authorities, that we can provide the means to overcome it. Jehangir legislated for the abolition of this practice by successive ordinances. At first he commanded that no woman, being mother of a family, should under any circumstances be permitted, however willing, to immolate herself; and subsequently the prohibition was made entire when the slightest compulsion was required, "whatever the assurances of the people might be." The royal commentator records no reaction. We might imitate Jehangir, and adopting the partially prohibitive ordinance, forbid the sacrifice where there was a family to rear.

the whole animal creation, is equal to the task of destroying his offspring: for instinct preserves what reason destroys. The wife is the sacrifice to his egotism, and the progeny of her own sex to his pride; and if the unconscious infant should escape the influence of the latter, she is only reserved to become the victim of the former at the period when life is most desirous of extension. If the female reasoned on her destiny, its hardships are sufficient to stifle all sense of joy, and produce indifference to life. When a female is born, no anxious inquiries await the mother—no greetings welcome the new-comer, who appears an intruder on the scene, which often closes in the hour of its birth. But the very silence with which a female birth is accompanied, forcibly expresses sorrow; and we dare not say, that many compunctious visitings do not obtrude themselves on those, who, in accordance with custom and imagined necessity, are thus compelled to violate the sentiments of nature. Families may exult in the *Sati* which their cenotaphs pourtray, but none ever heard a Rajpoot boast of the destruction of his infant progeny.

What are the causes, we may ask, sufficiently powerful to induce the suppression of a feeling which every sentient being has in common for its offspring? To suppose the Rajpoot devoid of this sentiment, would argue his deficiency in the ordinary attributes of humanity: often is he heard to exclaim, 'accursed the day when a woman child was born to me!" The same motive which studded Europe with convents, in which youth and beauty were immured until liberated by death, first prompted the Rajpoot to infanticide: and, however revolting the policy, it is perhaps kindness compared to incarceration. There can be no doubt that monastic seclusion, practised by the Frisians in France, the Langobardi in Italy, and the Visigoths in Spain, was brought from Central Asia, the cradle of the Goths.* It is, in fact, a modification of the same feeling, which characterizes the Rajpoot and the ancient German warrior,—the dread of dishonour to the fair: the former raises the poniard to the breast of his wife rather than witness her captivity, and he gives the opiate to the infant,

* The Chikers, a Scythic race inhabiting the banks of the Indus, at an early period of history were given to infanticide. "It was a custom,' says Ferishta, "as soon as a female child was born, to carry her to the market-place and there proclaim aloud, holding the child in one hand, and a knife in the other, that any one wanting a wife might have her; otherwise she was immolated." By this means they had more men than women, which occasioned the custom of several husbands to one wife. When any one husband visited her, she set up a mark at the door, which being observed by the others, they withdrew till the signal was removed.

whom, if he cannot portion and marry to her equal, he dare not see degraded.

Although religion no where authorizes this barbarity, the laws which regulate marriage amongst the Rajpoots powerfully promote infanticide. Not only is intermarriage prohibited between families of the same clan (*gampa*) but between those of the same tribe (*gote*); and though centuries may have intervened since their separation, and branches thus transplanted may have lost their original patronymic, they can never be regrafted on the original stem: for instance, though eight centuries have separated the two grand subdivisions of the Gehlotes, and the younger, the Seesodia, has superseded the elder, the Aharya, each ruling distinct states, a marriage between any of the branches would be deemed incestuous: the Seesodia is yet brother to the Aharya, and regards every female of the race as his sister. Every tribe has therefore to look abroad, to a race distinct from its own, for suitors for the females. Foreign war, international feuds, or other calamities, affect tribes the most remote from each other: nor can war or famine thin the clans of Marwar, without diminishing the female population of Ambar: thus both suffer in a twofold degree. Many virtuous and humane princes have endeavoured to check or mitigate an evil, in the eradication of which every parental feeling would co-operate. Sumptuary edicts alone can control it; and the Rajpoots were never sufficiently enamoured of despotism to permit it to rule within their private dwellings. The plan proposed, and in some degree followed by the great Jey Sing of Ambar, might with caution be pursued, and with great probability of success. He submitted to the prince of every Rajpoot state a decree, which was laid before a convocation of their respective vassals, in which he regulated the *daeja* or dower, and other marriage expenditure, with reference to the property of the vassal, limiting it to one year's income of the estate. This plan was, however, frustrated by the vanity of the Chondawut of Saloombra, who expended on the marriage of his daughter a sum even greater than his sovereign could have afforded; and to have his name blazoned by the bards and genealogists, he sacrificed the beneficent views of one of the wisest of the Rajpoot race. Until vanity suffers itself to be controled, and the aristocratic Rajpoot submit to republican simplicity,* the evils arising from

* Could they be induced to adopt the custom of the ancient Marsellois, infanticide might cease: "Marseille fut la plus sage des republiquesde son temps: les dots ne pourraient passer cents ecus en argent, et cinq en habits, dit Strabon." *De l'Esprit des Loix* ch. xv. liv. v. 21.

nuptial profusion will not cease. Unfortunately, those who could check it, find their interest in stimulating it, namely, the whole class of *mangtas* (mendicants), bards, minstrels, jugglers, Brahmins, who assemble on these occasions, and pour forth their epithalamiums in praise of the virtue of liberality. The *bardais* are the grand recorders of fame, and the volume of *precedent* is always recurred to, in citing the liberality of former chiefs; while the dread of their satire (*viserva*, literally 'poison') shuts the eyes of the chiefs to consequences, and they are only anxious to maintain the reputation of their ancestors, though fraught with future ruin. "The Dahima emptied his coffers," (says Chund, the pole-star of the Rajpoots), "on the marriage of his daughter with Pirthwiraj; but he filled them with the praises of mankind." The same bard retails every article of these *dejas* or 'dowers,' which thus become precedents for future ages; and the "*lac passao*," then established for the chief bardai, has become a model to posterity. Even now the Rana of Oodipur, in his season of poverty, at the recent marriage of his daughters bestowed "the gift of a lac" on the chief bard; though the articles of gold, horses, clothes, &c. were included in the estimate, and at an undue valuation, which rendered the gift not quite so precious as in the days of the Chohan. Were bonds taken from all the feudal chiefs, and a penal clause inserted, of forfeiture of their fief by all who exceeded a fixed nuptial expenditure, the axe would be laid to the root, the evil would be checked, and the heart of many a mother (and we may add, father) be gladdened, by preserving at once the point of honour and their child. When ignorance declaims against the gratuitous love of murder amongst these brave men, our contempt is excited equally by its short-sighted conclusions, and the affected philanthropy which over-looks all remedy but the "*sic volo*." Sir John Shore, when acting on the suggestions of the benevolent Duncan for the suppression of this practice amongst the Rajkumars, judged more wisely as a politician, and more charitably in his estimate of human motives. "A prohibition," says he, "enforced by the denunciation of the severest temporal penalties, would have had little efficacy in abolishing a custom which existed in opposition to the feelings of humanity and natural affection;" but "the sanction of that religion which the Rajkumars professed, was appealed to in aid of the ordinances of civil authority; and an engagement binding themselves to desist from the barbarous practice was prepared, and circulated for signature amongst the Rajkumars." It may well be doubted how far this influence could extend, when the root of the evil remained untouched, though not unseen, as the philanthropic

Duncan pointed out in the confession of the Rajkumars: "all unequivocally admitted it, but all did not fully acknowledge its atrocity; and the only reason they assigned for the inhuman practice was, the great expense of procuring suitable matches for their daughters, if they allowed them to grow up." The Rajkoomar is one of Chohan *sacha*, chief of the *Agniculas*, and in proportion to its high and well-deserved pretensions on the score of honour, it has more infanticides than any other of the "*thirty-six royal races.*" Amongst those of this race out of the pale of feudalism, and subjected to powers not Rajpoot, the practice is four-fold greater, from the increased pressure of the cause which gave it birth, and the difficulty of establishing their daughters in wedlock. Raja Jey Sing's enactment went far to remedy this. Conjoin his plan with Mr. Duncan's, provide dowers, and infanticide will cease. It is only by removing the cause, that the consequences can be averted.

As to the almost universality of this practice amongst the Jarejas, the leading cause, which will also operate to its continuance, has been entirely overlooked. The Jarejas were Rajpoots, a subdivision of the Yadus; but by intermarriage with the Mahomedans, to whose faith they became proselytes, they lost their caste. Political causes have dis-united them from the Mahomedans, and they desire again to be considered as pure Rajpoots; but having been contaminated, no Rajpoot will intermarry with them. The owner of a *hyde* of land, whether Seesodia, Rahtore, or Chohan, would scorn the hand of a Jareja princess. Can the "*sic volo*" be applied to men who think in this fashion?

Having thus pointed out the causes of the sacrifice of widows and of infants, I shall touch on the yet more awful rite of *Johur*, when a whole tribe may become extinct, of which several instances have been recorded in the annals of Mewar. To the fair of other lands the fate of the Rajpootni must appear one of appalling hardship. In each stage of life, death is ready to claim her; by the poppy at its dawn, by the flames in riper years; while the safety of the interval depending on the uncertainty of war, at no period is her existence worth a twelvemonth's purchase. The loss of a battle, or the capture of a city, is a signal to avoid captivity and its horrors, which to the Rajpootni are worse than death. To the doctrines of Christianity, Europe owes the boon of protection to the helpless and the fair, who are comparatively safe amidst the vicissitudes of war; to which security the chivalry of the middle ages doubtless contributed. But it is singular that a nation so refined, so scrupulous in its ideas with regard to females, as the Rajpoot, should not have entered into some national compact to abandon

such proof of success as the bondage* of the sex. We can enter into the feelings, and applaud the deed, which ensured the preservation of their honour by the fatal *johur*, when the foe was the brutalized Tatar. But the practice was common in the international wars of the Rajpoots; and I possess numerous inscriptions (on stone and on brass), which record, as the first token of victory, the captive wives of the foeman. When "the mother of Sisera looked out of the window, and cried *through the lattice*, why tarry the wheels of his chariot—have they not sped? have they not divided the prey, to every man a damsel or two?"† we have a perfect picture of the Rajpoot mother expecting her son from the foray.

The Jewish law with regard to female captives was perfectly analogous to that of Manu; both declare them "lawful prize," and both Moses and Manu establish rules sanctioning the marriage of such captives with the captors. "When a girl is made captive by her lover, after a victory over her kinsman," marriage "is permitted by law."‡ That forcible marriage in the Hindu law termed *Rakshasa*, *viz.* "the seizure of a maiden by force from her house while she weeps and calls for assistance, after her kinsman and friends have been slain in battle,"§ is the counterpart of the ordinance regarding the usage of a captive in the *Pentateuch*,‖ excepting the "*shaving of the head*," which is the sign of complete slavery with the Hindu. When Hector, anticipating his fall, predicts the fate which awaits Andromache, he draws a forcible picture of the misery of the Rajpoot; but the latter, instead of a lachrymose and enervating harangue as he prepared for the battle with the same chance of defeat, would have spared her the pain of plying the "Argive loom" by her death. To prevent such degradation, the brave Rajpoot has recourse to the *johur*, or immolation of every female of the family: nor can we doubt that, educated as are the females of that country, they gladly embrace such a refuge from pollution.

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* *Bunda* is 'a bondsman' in Persian; *Bandi*, 'a female slave' in Hindi.

† Judges, v. 28-30.

‡ Manu, on Marriage, art. 26.

§ Manu, on Marriage, art. 33.

‖ "When thou goest forth to war against thine enemies, and the Lord thy God hath delivered them into thine hands, and thou hast taken them captive seest among the captives a beautiful woman, and hast a desire unto her, that thou wouldest have her to thy wife; then thou shalt bring her home to thine house, and she shall shave her head, and pare her nails; and she shall put the raiment of her captivity from off her, and shall remain in thine house, and bewail her father and her mother a full month: and after that thou shalt go in unto her, and be her husband, and she shall be thy wife."—Deut. chap. xxi. ver. 10, 11, 12, 13.

Who would not be a Rajpoot in such a case? The very term widow (*rand*), is used in common parlance as one of reproach.*

Manu commands that whoever accosts a woman shall do so by the title of "*sister*,"† and that "way must be made for her, even as for the aged, for a priest, a prince, or a bridegroom;" and in the admirable text on the laws of hospitality, he ordains that pregnant women, brides, and damsels, shall have food‡ before all the other guests;" which, with various other texts, appears to indicate a time when women were less than now objects of restraint; a custom attributable to the paramount dominion of the Mohamedans, from whose rigid system the Hindus have borrowed. But so many conflicting texts are to be found in the pages of Manu, that we may pronounce the compilation never to have been the work of the same legislator: from whose dicta we may select with equal facility texts tending to degrade as to exalt the sex. For the following he would meet with many plaudits: "Let women be constantly supplied with ornaments at festivals and jubilees, for if the wife be not elegantly attired, she will not exhilarate her husband. A wife gaily adorned, the whole house is embellished."§ In the following text he pays an unequivocal compliment to her power: "a female is able to draw from the right path in this life, not a fool only, but even a sage, and can lead him in subjection to desire or to wrath." With this acknowledgment from the very fountain of authority, we have some ground for asserting that "les femmes font les mœurs," even in Rajpootana; and that though immured and invisible, their influence *on* society is not less certain than if they moved in the glare of open day.

Most erroneous ideas have been formed of the Hindu female from the pictures drawn by those who never left the banks of the Ganges. They are represented as degraded

* I remember in my subaltern days, and wanderings through countries then little known, one of my Rajpoot soldiers at the well, impatient for water, asked a woman for the rope and bucket by the uncivil term of *rand*: "*Myn Rajpootni che*," 'I am a Rajputni,' she replied in the Hara dialect, to which tribe she belonged, '*aur Rajpoot ca ma cho*,' 'and the mother of Rajpoots.' At the indignant reply the hands of the brave Kulian were folded, and he asked her forgiveness by the endearing and respectful epithet of "mother." It was soon granted, and filling his brass vessel, she dismissed him with the epithet of "son," and a gentle reproof. Kulian was himself a Rajpoot, and a bolder lives not, if he still exist: this in 1807, and in 1817 he joined his sergeant's knot, as one of the thirty-relocks of my guard, who led the attack, and defeated a camp of fifteen ed Pindarries.

† On Education, art. 129.

‡ On Marriage, art. 114.

§ Marriage, arts. 57, 6

beings, and that not one in many thousands can even read. I would ask such travellers, whether they know the name of Rajpoot, for there are few of the lowest chieftains, whose daughters are not instructed both to read and write; though the customs of the country requiring much form in epistolary writing, only the signature is made to letters. But of their intellect, and knowledge of mankind, whoever has had to converse with a Rajpootni guardian of her son's rights, must draw a very different conclusion.* Though excluded by the Salic law of India from governing, they are declared to be fit regents during minority; and the history of India is filled with anecdotes of able and valiant females in this capacity.†

The more prominent traits of character will be found disseminated throughout the Annals; we shall therefore omit the customary summaries of nationalities, those fanciful debtor and creditor accounts, with their balanced amount, favourable or unfavourable according to the disposition of the observer; and from the anecdotes scattered through these pages, leave the reader to form his own judgment of the Rajpoot. High courage, patriotism, loyalty, honour, hospitality, and simplicity are qualities which must at once be conceded to them; and if we cannot vindicate them from charges to which human nature in every clime is obnoxious; if we are compelled to admit the deterioration of moral dignity, from the continual inroads of, and their consequent collision with, rapacious conquerors; we must yet admire the quantum of virtue which even oppression and bad example have failed to banish. The meaner vices of deceit and falsehood, which the delineators of national character attach to the Asiatic without distinction, I deny to be universal with the Rajpoots, though some tribes

* I have conversed for hours with the Boondi queen-mother on the affairs of her government and welfare of her infant son, to whom I was left guardian by his dying father. She had adopted me as her brother but the conversation was always in the presence of a third person in her confidence, and a curtain separated us. Her sentiments shewed invariable a correct and extensive knowledge, which was equally apparent in her letters, of which I had many. I could give many similar instances.

† Ferishta in his history gives an animated picture of Durgavati queen of Gurrah, defending the rights of her infant son against Akbar ambition. Like another Boadicea, she headed her army, and fought desperate battle with Asoph Khan, in which she was wounded and defeated but scorning flight, or to survive the loss of independence, she, like an antique Roman in such a predicament, slew herself on the field of battle.

Whoever desires to judge of the comparative fidelity of the transl of this writer, by Dow and Briggs, cannot do better than refer to this passage. The former has clothed it in all the trappings of decoration: the latter gives "a plain unvarnished tale," which is the aim of every translator.

may have been obliged from position to use these shields of the weak against continuous oppression. Every court in Rajasthan has its characteristic epithet; and there is none held more contemptible than the affix of *jootha durbar*, 'the lying court,' applied to Jeypur; while the most comprehensive measure of praise is the simple epithet of *sachha*,* 'the truth-teller.' Again, there are many shades between deceit and dissimulation: the one springs from natural depravity; the other may be assumed, as with the Rajpoot, in self-defence. But their laws, the mode of administering them, and the operation of external causes, must be attentively considered, before we can form a just conclusion of the springs which regulate the character of a people. We must examine the opinions of the competent of past days, when political independence yet remained to the Rajpoots, and not found our judgment of a nation upon a superficial knowledge of individuals. To this end I shall avail myself of the succinct but philosophical remarks of Abulfuzil, the wise minister of the wise Akbar, which are equally applicable to mankind at large, as to the particular people we are treating of. "If," he says, speaking of the Hindus, "a diligent investigator were to examine the temper and disposition of the people of each tribe, he would find every individual differing in some respect or other. Some among them are virtuous in the highest degree, and others carry vice to the greatest excess. They are renowned for wisdom, disinterested friendship, obedience to their superiors, and many other virtues: but, at the same time, there are among them men whose hearts are obdurate and void of shame, turbulent spirits, who for the merest trifle will commit the greatest outrages."

Again: "The Hindus are religious, affable, courteous to strangers, cheerful, *enamoured of knowledge*, lovers of justice, able in business, grateful, *admirers of truth*, and of unbounded fidelity in all their dealings. Their character shines brightest in adversity. Their soldiers (the Rajpoots) know not what it is to fly from the field of battle; but when the success of the combat becomes doubtful, they dismount from their horses, and throw away their lives in payment of the debt of valour."

I shall conclude this chapter with a sketch of their familiar habits, and a few of their in-door and out-door recreations.

To Baber, the founder of the Mogul dynasty, India is indebted for the introduction of its melons and grapes; and to his grandson Jehangir for tobacco.† For the introduction of

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*...*hha* is very comprehensive; in common parlance it is the opposite ... but it means 'loyal, upright, just.'

†...obiography of both these noble Tatar princes are singular

opium we have no date, and it is not even mentioned in the poems of Chund. This pernicious plant has robbed the Rajpoot of half his virtues; and while it obscures these, it heightens his vices, giving to his natural bravery a character of insane ferocity, and to the countenance, which would otherwise beam with intelligence, an air of imbecility. Like all stimulants, its effects are magical for a time; but the reaction is not less certain: and the faded form or amorphous bulk too often attest the debilitating influence of a drug which alike debases mind and body. In the more ancient epics, we find no mention of the poppy-juice as now used, though the Rajpoot has at all times been accustomed to his *madhava ra-peala*, or 'intoxicating cup.' The essence,* whether of grain, of roots, or of flowers still welcomes the guest, but is secondary to the opiate, *Umul lar kana*, 'to eat opium together,' is the most inviolable pledge; and an agreement ratified by this ceremony is stronger than any adjuration. If a Rajpoot pays a visit, the first question is, *umul kya?* 'have you had your opiate?'—*umul kao*, 'take your opiate.' On a birth-day, when all the chiefs convene to congratulate their brother on another 'knot to his years,' the large cup is brought forth, a lump of opiate put therein, upon which water is poured, and by the aid of a stick a solution is made, to which each helps his neighbour, not with a glass, but with the hollow of his hand held to his mouth. To judge by the wry faces on this occasion, none can like it, and to get rid of the nauseous taste, comfit-balls are handed round. It is curious to observe the animation it inspires; a Rajpoot is fit for nothing without his *umul*, and I have often dismissed their men of business to refresh their intellects by a dose, for when its effects are dissipating they become mere logs.† Opium to the Rajpoot is more necessary

compositions, and may be given as standards of Eastern intellectual acquirement. They minutely note the progress of refinement and luxury.

* *Arac*, 'essence;' whence *arrack* and *rack*.

† Even in the midst of conversation, the eye closes and the head nods as the exciting cause is dissipating, and the countenance assumes a perfect vacuity of expression. Many a chief has taken his siesta in his chair while on a visit to me: an especial failing of my good friend Raj Kulian of Sadri, the descendant of the brave Shama, who won "*the right hand*" of the prince at Huldighat. The lofty turban worn by the Raj, which distinguishes his tribe (*the Jhala*), was often on the point of tumbling into my lap, as he unconsciously nodded. When it is inconvenient to dissolve the opium, the chief carries it in his pocket, and presents it; as we would a pinch of snuff in Europe. In my subaltern days the chieftain of Senthal, in Jeypur, on paying me a visit, presented me with a piece of opium, which I took and laid on the table. Observing that I did not eat it, he said he should like to try the *Frangi ca umul*, 'the opium of the Franks." I sent him a bottle of powerful *Schedam*, and to his

than food, and a suggestion to the Rana to tax it highly was most unpopular. From the rising generation the author exacted promises that they would resist initiation in this vice, and many grew up in happy ignorance of the taste of opium. He will be the greatest friend to Rajasthan who perseveres in eradicating the evil. The valley of Oodipur is a poppy-garden, of every hue and variety, whence the Hindu Sri may obtain a coronet more variegated than ever adorned the Isis of the Nile.

A pledge once given by the Rajpoot, whether ratified by the "eating of opium together," "an exchange of turbans," or the more simple act of "giving the right hand," is maintained inviolable under all circumstances.

Their grand hunts have been described. The Rajpoot is fond of his dog and his gun. The former aids him in pulling down the boar or hare, and with the stalking-horse he will toil for hours after the deer. The greater chieftains have their *rumnas* or preserves, where poaching would be summarily punished, and where the slaughter of all kinds of beasts, elk, hog, hyena, tiger, boar, deer, wild-dog, wolf or hare, is indiscriminate. Riding in the ring with the lance in tournaments, without the spike, the point being guarded; defence of the sword against the lance, with every variety of "noble horsemanship," such as would render the most expert in Europe an easy prey to the active Rajpoot, are some of the chief exercises. Firing at a mark with a matchlock, in which they attain remarkable accuracy of aim; and in some parts of the country throwing a dart or javelin from horseback, are favourite amusements. The practice of the bow is likewise a main source of pastime, and in the manner there adopted it requires both dexterity and strength. The Rajpoot is not satisfied if he cannot bury his arrow either in the earthen target, or in the buffalo, to the feather. The use of the bow is hallowed; Arjuna's bow in the "Great War," and that of the Chohan king, Prithwi raj, with which the former gained Droupadi and the latter the fair Sunjogta, are immortalized like that of Ulysses. In these martial exercises, the youthful Rajpoot is early initiated, and that the sight of blood may be familiar, he is instructed, before he has strength to wield a sword, to practise with his boy's scimitar on the heads of lambs and kids. His first successful assay on the animals

quantity of the dose, I told him he might take from an eighth to the half, the desired exhilaration or oblivion. We were to have hunted the next morning; but having no sign of my friend, I was obliged to march without obtaining the effect of the barter of *opheem* for the waters of Friesland; which I have no doubt that he found them quite Lethean.

'*fœ naturæ*' is a source of congratulation to his whole family.* In this manner the spirit of chivalry is continually fed, for every thing around him speaks of arms and strife. His very amusements are warlike; and the dance and the song, the burthen of which is the record of his successful gallantry so far from enervating, serve as fresh incitements to his courage.

The exhibition of the *jaitis*, or wrestlers, is another mode, of killing time. It is a state concern for every prince or chief to entertain a certain number of these champions of the glove. Challenges are sent by the most celebrated from one court to another; and the event of the *akarra*, as the arena is termed, is looked to with great anxiety.

No prince or chief is without his *sillehkhaneh*, or armoury, where he passes hours in viewing and arranging his arms. Every favourite weapon, whether sword, matchlock, spear, dagger, or bow, has a distinctive epithet. The keeper of the armoury is one of the most confidential officers about the person of the prince. These arms are beautiful and costly. The *sirohi*, or slightly-curved blade, is formed like that of Damascus, and is the greatest favourite of all the variety of sabres throughout Rajpootana. The long cut-and-thrust, like the *Andrea Ferrara*, is not uncommon; nor the *khanda*, or double-edged sword. The matchlocks both of Lahore and the country are often highly finished and inlaid with mother-of-pearl and gold: those of Boondi are the best. The shield of the rhinoceros-hide offers the best resistance, and is often ornamented with animals, beautifully painted, and enamelled in gold and silver. The bow is of buffalo-horn, and the arrows of reed, and barbed in a variety of fashions, as the crescent, the trident, the snake's tongue, and other fanciful forms.

The Maharaja Sheodan Sing (whose family are heirs presumptive to the throne) was one of my constant visitors; and the title of 'adopted brother,' which he conferred upon me allowed him to make his visits unreasonably long. The Maharaja had many excellent qualities. He was the best sho in Mewar; he was well read in the classic literature of h nation; deeply versed in the secrets of the chronicles, not on of Mewar but of all Rajwarra; conversant with all the my teries of the bard, and could *improvise* on every occasion. H was a proficient in musical science, and could discourse mo

* The author has now before him a letter written by the queen-moth of Boondi desiring his rejoicings on *Lalji* the beloved's *coup dessai* o deer, which he had followed most pertinaciously to the death. On occasion, a court was held, and all the chiefs presented offerings and gratulations.

fluently on the whole theory of Sangita, which comprehends vocal and instrumental harmony. He could explain each of the *ragas*, or musical modes, which issued from the five mouths of Siva and his consort Mera, together with the almost endless variations of the *ragas*, to each of which are allotted six consorts or *raginis*. He had attached to his suite the first vocalists of Mewar, and occasionally favoured me by letting them sing at my house. The chief *cantatrice* had a superb voice, a *contr' alto* of great extent, and bore the familiar appellation of 'Catalani.' Her execution of all the *bussunt* or 'spring-songs,' and the *megh* or 'cloud-songs' of the monsoon, which are full of melody, was perfect. But she had a rival in a singer from Oojein, and we made a point of having them together, that emulation might excite to excellence. The chieftain of Saloombra, the chief of the Suktawuts, and others, frequently joined these parties, as well as the Maharaja: for all are partial to the dance and the song, during which conversation flows unrestrained. Sadoola, whose execution on the guitar would have secured applause even at the Philharmonic, commanded mute attention when he played a *tan* or symphony, or when, taking any of the simple *tuppas* of Oojein as a theme, he wandered through a succession of voluntaries. In summer, these little parties were held on the terrace or the house-top, where carpets were spread under an awning, while the cool breezes of the lake gave life after the exhaustion of a day passed under 96° of Fahrenheit. The subjects of their songs are various, love, glory, satire, &c. I was invited to similar assemblies by many of the chiefs; though none were so intellectual as those of the Maharaja. On birth-days or other festivals, the chief bardai often appears, or the bard of any other tribe who may happen to be present. Then all is mute attention, broken only by the emphatic "*wah, wah!*," the measured nod of the head, or fierce curl of the moustache, in token of approbation or the reverse.*

The Maharaja's talents for amplification were undoubted, and by more than one of his friends this failing was attributed to his long residence at the court of Jeypur, whose cognomen will not have been forgotten. He had one day been amusing us with the feats of his youth, his swimming from island to

* Poetic impromptus pass on these occasions unrestricted by the fear of the critic, though the long yawn now and then should have given the hint to my friend the Maharaja that his verses wanted Attic. But he had certainly talent, and he did not conceal his light, which shone the stronger from the darkness that surrounded him: for poverty is not the school of genius, and the trade of the schoolmaster has ever been the least lucrative in a capital where rapine has ruled.

island, and bestriding the alligators for an excursion.* Like Tell, he had placed a mark on his son's head and hit it successfully. He could kill an eagle on the wing, and divide a ball on the edge of a knife, the knife itself unseen. While running on in this manner, my features betraying some incredulity, he insisted on redeeming his word. A day was accordingly appointed, and though labouring under an ague, he came with his favourite matchlocks. The more dangerous experiment was desisted from, and he commenced by dividing the ball on the knife. This he placed perpendicularly in the centre of an earthen vessel filled with water; and taking his station at about twenty paces, perforated the centre of the vessel, and allowed you to take up the fragments of the ball; having previously permitted you to load the piece, and examine the vessel, which he did not once approach himself. Another exhibition was striking an orange from a pole without perforating it. Again, he gave the option of loading to a bystander, and retreating a dozen paces, he knocked an orange off untouched by the ball, which, according to a preliminary proviso, could not be found: the orange was not even discoloured by the powder. He was an adept also at chess† and choupar, and could carry on a conversation by stringing flowers in a peculiar manner. If he plumed himself upon his pretensions, his vanity was always veiled under a demeanour full of courtesy and grace; and Maharaja Sheodan Sing would be esteemed a well-bred and well-informed man at the most polished court of Europe.

Every chief has his band, vocal and instrumental; but Sindia, some years since, carried away the most celebrated vocalists of Oodipur. The Rajpoots are all partial to music. The tuppa is the favourite measure. Its chief character is plaintive simplicity: and it is analogous to the Scotch, or perhaps still more to the Norman.‡

The Rana, who is a great patron of the art, has a small band of musicians, whose only instrument is the *shehnla*, or

* There are two of these alligators quite familiar to the inhabitants of Oodipur, who come when called "from the vasty deep" for food and I have often exasperated them by throwing an inflated bladder, which the monsters greedily received, only to dive away in angry disappointment; It was on these that my friend affirmed he had ventured.

† *Chaturanga*, so called from imitating the formation of an army. The 'four' *chatur* 'bodied' *anga* array; or elephants, chariots, horse, and foot. His chief antagonist at chess was a blind man of the city.

‡ The *tuppa* belongs to the very extremity of India, being indigenous as far as the Indus and the countries watered by its arms; and though the peculiar measure is common in Rajasthan, the prefix of *punjabi* shews its origin. I have listened at Caen to the voila or hurdygurdy, till I could have fancied myself in Mewar.

hautboy. They played their national *tuppas* with great taste and feeling; and these strains, wafted from the lofty terrace of the palace in the silence of the night, produced a sensation of delight not unmixed with pain, which its peculiarly melancholy character excites. The Rana has also a few flute or flageolet players, who discourse most eloquent music. Indeed, we may enumerate this among the principal amusements of the Rajpoots; and although it would be deemed indecorous to be a performer, the science forms a part of education.*

Who that has marched in the stillness of night through the mountainous regions of central India, and heard the warder sound, the *tooraye*, from his turreted abode, perched like an eyrie on the mountain-top, can ever forget its graduated intensity of sound, or the emphatic *hem! hem!* 'all's well,' which follows the lengthened blast of the cornet reverberating in every recess.†

A species of bagpipe, so common to all the Celtic races of Europe, is not unknown to the Rajpoots. It is called the *meshek*, but is only the rudiment of that instrument whose peculiar influence on the physical, through the moral agency of man, is described by our own master-bard. They have likewise the double flageolet; but in the same ratio of perfection to that of Europe as the *meshek* to the heart-stirring pipe of the north. As to their lutes, guitars, and all the varieties of tintibulants (as Dr. Johnson would call them), it would fatigue without interesting the reader to enumerate them.

We now come to the literary attainments of the lords of Rajasthan, of whom there is none without sufficient clerkship to read his grant or agreement for *rekwali* or blackmail; and none either so ignorant, or so proud, as the boasted

* Chund remarks of his hero, the Chohan, that he was "master of the art," both vocal and instrumental. Whether profane music was ever common may be doubted; but sacred music was a part of early education with the sons of kings. Rama and his brothers were celebrated for the harmonious execution of episodes from the grand epic, the *Ramayana*. The sacred canticles of Jaydeva were set to music, and apparently by himself, and are yet sung by the Chobis. The inhabitants of the various monastic establishments chaunt their addresses to the deity; and I have listened with delight to the modulated cadences of the hermits, singing the praises of Pataliswara from their pinnacled abode of Aboo. It would be injustice to touch incidentally on the merits of the minstrel, Dholi, who sings the warlike compositions of the sacred Bardai of Rajasthan.

† The *tooraye* is the sole instrument of the many of the trumpet kind which is not dissonant. The Kotah prince has the largest band, perhaps, in these countries; instruments of all kinds—stringed, wined, and percussion. But as it is formed by rule, in which the sacred and shrill conch-shell takes precedence, it must be allowed that it is anything but harmonious.

ancestral wisdom of England, whose barons could not even sign their names to the Great Charter of their liberties. The Rana of Oodipur has unlimited command of his pen, and his letters are admirable; but we may say of him nearly what was remarked of Charles the Second—"he never wrote a foolish thing, and seldom did a wise one." The familiar epistolary correspondence of the princes and nobles of Rajasthan would exhibit abundant testimony of their powers of mind: they are sprinkled with classical allusions, and evince that knowledge of mankind which constant collision in society must produce. A collection of these letters, which exist in the archives of every principality, would prove that the princes of this country are upon a par with the rest of mankind, not only in natural understanding, but, taking their opportunities into account, even in its cultivation. The prince who in Europe could quote Hesiod and Homer with the freedom that the Rana does on all occasions Vyasa and Valmiki, would be accounted a prodigy; and there is not a divine who could make application of the ordinances of Moses with more facility than the Rana of those of their great lawgiver, Manu. When they talk of the wisdom of their ancestors it is not a mere figure of speech. The instruction of their princes is laid down in rules held sacred, and must have been far more onerous than any system of European university education, for scarcely a branch of human knowledge is omitted. But the cultivation of the mind, and the arts of polished life, must always flourish in the ratio of a nation's prosperity, and from the decline of the one, we may date the deterioration of the other with the Rajpoot. The astronomer has now no patron to look to for reward; there is no Jey Sing to erect such stupendous observatories as he built at Delhi, Benares, Oojein, and at his own capital; to construct globes and armillary spheres, of which, according to their own and our system, the Kotah prince has two, each three feet in diameter. The same prince (Jey Sing) collated De la Hire's tables with those of Ulug Beg, and presented the result to the last emperor of Delhi, worthy the name of the Great Mogul. To these tables he gave the name of *Zeej Mohamed Shahe*. It was Jey Sing who, as already mentioned, sought to establish sumptuary laws throughout the nation, to regulate marriages, and thereby prevent infanticide; and who left his name to the capital he founded, the first in Rajasthan.

But we cannot march over fifty miles of country without observing traces of the genius, talent, and wealth, of past days; though,—whether the more abstruse sciences, or the lighter arts which embellish life,—all are now fast disappearing. Whether in

the tranquillity secured to them by the destruction of their predatory foes, the arts and sciences may revive, and the nation regain its ancient tone, is a problem which time alone can solve.

In their household economy, their furniture and decorations, they remain unchanged during the lapse of a thousand years. No chairs, no couches adorn their sitting apartments, though the painted and gilded ceiling may be supported by columns of serpentine, and the walls one mass of mirrors, marble, or china;—nothing but a soft carpet, hidden by a white cloth, on which the guests seat themselves according to rank. In fine, the quaint description of the Chaplain to the first embassy which England sent to India, more than two hundred years ago, applies now, as it probably will two hundred years hence. "As for the furniture the greatest men have, it is *curta supellex*, very little; they (the rooms) being not beautified with hangings, nor with anything besides to line their walls; for they have no chairs, no stools, nor couches, nor tables, nor beds enclosed with canopies, nor curtains, in any of their rooms. And the truth is, that if they had them, the extreme heat would forbid the use of many of them; all their business is upon their floors, on which they spread most excellent carpets."*

* Those who wish for an opinion "of the most excellent moralities which are to be observed amongst the people of these nations," cannot do better than read the 14th section of the observant, intelligent, and tolerant Chaplain, who is more just, at least on one point, than the modern missionary, who denies to the Hindu filial affection. "And here I shall insert another most needful particular, which deserves a most high commendation to be given unto that people in general, how poor and mean soever they be; and that is the great exemplary care they manifest in their piety to their parents, that, notwithstanding they serve for very little, but five shillings a month for their whole livelihood and subsistence, if their parents be in want, they will impart, at the least, half of that little towards their necessaries, choosing rather to want themselves, than that their parents should suffer need." It is in fact one of the first precepts of their religion. The Chaplain thus concludes his chapter "On the Moralities of the Hidu."—"O! what a sad thing is it for Christians to come short of Indians, even in moralities; come short of those, who themselves believe to come short of heaven!"

The Chaplain closes his interesting and instructive work with the subject of Conversion, which is as remote from accomplishment at this day, as it was at that distant period. "Well known it is the Jesuits there, who, like the Pharisees 'that would compass sea and land to make one Proselyte' (Matt. 23—25), have sent into Christendom many large reports of their great conversions of infidels in East India. But all these boastings are but reports; the truth is, that they have there spilt the precious water of Baptism upon some few faces, working upon the necessity of some poor men, who for want of means, which they give them, are contended to wear

It were useless to expatiate on dress, either male or female, the fashion varying in each province and [illegible] though the texture and materials are everywhere the same: cotton in summer, and quilted chintz or broadcloth in winter. The ladies have only three articles of *parure*; the *ghagra*, or 'petticoat;' the *kanchli*, or 'corset;' and the *dopati*, or 'scarf,' which is occasionally thrown over the head as a veil. Ornaments are without number. For the men, trousers of every shape and calibre, a tunic girded with a ceinture, and a scarf, form the wardrobe of every Rajpoot. The turban is the most important part of the dress, and is the unerring mark of the tribe; the form and fashion are various, and its decorations differ according to time and circumstances. The *balabund*, or 'silken fillet,' was once valued as the mark of the sovereign's favour, and was tantamount to the courtly "orders" of Europe. The colour of the turban and tunic varies with the seasons; and the changes are rung upon crimson, saffron, and purple, though white is by far the most common. Their shoes are mere slippers, and sandals are worn by the common classes. Boots are yet used in hunting or war, made of chamois leather, of which material the warrior often has a doublet, being more commodious, and less oppressive, than armour. The dagger or poniard is inseparable from the girdle.

The culinary art will be discussed elsewhere, together with the medical, which is very low, and usurped by empyrics, who waste alike the purse and health of the ignorant by the sale of aphrodisiacs, which are sought after with great avidity. Gums, metals, minerals, all are compounded, and for one preparation, while the author was at Oodipur, 7,000 rupees (nearly £1,000) were expended by the court-physician.

Their superstitions, incantations, charms, and phylacteries against danger, mental or bodily, will appear more appropriately where the subject is incidently introduced.

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crucifixes; but for want of knowledge in the doctrine of Christianity are only in name Christian." (*a*)

(*a*) "A Voyage to East India," (*Della Valle.*) pp. 402, 417, 419, 480.

PERSONAL NARRATIVE

OF

THE AUTHOR.

CHAPTER XXV.

JOURNEY TO MARWAR.

Valley of Oodipur.—Departure for Marwar.—Encamp on the heights of Toos.—Resume the March.—Distant view of Oodipur.—Leopur.—Zalim Sing.—Reach Pulanoh.—Ram Sing Mehta.—Manikchana. Ex-raja of Nursingurh.—False policy pursued by the British government in 1817-18.—Departure from Pulanoh.—Aspect and geological character of the country.—Nathdwara ridge.—Arrival at the city of Nathdwara.—Visit from the Mookhia of the temple.—Departure for the village of Oosurwas—benigned.—Elephant in a bog.—Oosurwas.—A Sanyasi.—March to Sumaicha.—The Shero Nullah.—Locusts.—Coolness of the air.—Sumaicha.—March to Kailwarra, the capital.—Elephant's pool.—Moorcho.—Kheyrlee.—Maharaja Jalut Sing.—Komulmeer.—Its architecture, remains, and history.—March to the "Region of death," or Marwar.—The difficult nature of the country.—A party of native horsemen.—Bivouac in the glen.

October 11th, 1819.—Two years had nearly sped since we entered the valley of Oodipur, the most diversified and most romantic spot on the continent of India. In all this time, none of us had penetrated beyond the rocky barrier which formed the limit of our horizon, affording the vision a sweep of six miles radius. Each hill and dale, tower and tree, had become familiar to us; every altar, cenetaph, and shrine, had furnished its legend, till tradition was exhausted. The ruins were explored, their inscriptions deciphered, each fantastic pinnacle had a name, and the most remarkable chieftains and servants of the court had epithets assigned to them, expressive of some quality or characteristic. We had our 'Red Reiver,

our 'Roderic Dhu,' and a 'Falstaff,' at the court; our 'Catalani,' our 'Vestris,' in the song or the ballet. We had our palace in the city, our cutter on the lake, our villa in the woods, our fairy-islands in the waters; streams to angle in; deer to shoot; much, in short, to please the eye and gratify the taste:—yet did *ennui* intrude, and all panted to escape from the "*happy valley*," to see what was in the world beyond the mountains. In all these twenty moons, the gigantic portals of Dobarri, which guard the entrance of the Girwoh,* had not once creaked on their hinges for our egress; and though from incessant occupation where with al to lessen the *tedium vitæ*, my com having such resources, it was in vain that, alac, I urged them not to feel dull in this "bliss captivity the scenery had become hideous, and I verily believe had there been any pinion-maker in the capital of the Sesodias, they would have essayed a flight, though it might have terminated in the lake. Never did Rasselas sigh more for escape. At length the day arrived, and although the change was to le from d what constitutes the enchantments a vision, from wood an erile plains of the sandy desert of Marwar, it was sufficient that it was *change*. Our party was composed of Captain Waugh, Lieutenant Carey, and Dr. Duncan, with the whole of the escort, consisting of two companies of foot and sixty of Skinner's horse, all alike delighted to quit the valley where each had suffered more or less from the prevalent fevers of the monsoon, during which the valley is peculiary unhealthy, especially to foreigners, when the wells and reservoirs overflow from the springs which break in, impregnated with putrid vegetation and mineral poisons, covering the surface with a bluish oily fluid. The art of filtrating water to free it from impurities is unknown to the Rajpoots, and with some shame I record that we did not make them wiser, though they are not strangers to the more simple process, adopted throughout the desert, of using potash and allum; the former to neutralize the salt and render the water more fit for culinary purposes; the latter to throw down the impurities held suspended. They also use an alkaline nut in washing, which by simply steeping emits a froth which is a good substitute for soap.†

On the *12th October*, at five A.M. our trumpet sounded to horse, and we were not slow in obeying the summons; the "yellow boys" with their old native commandant looking even

* The amphitheatre, or *circle*.

† *Sabon*, in the *lingua franca* of India, signifies 'soap.'

more cheerful than usual as we joined them. Skinner's horse, wore a *jamah* or tunic of yellow broad-cloth, with scarlet turbans and cincture. Who does not know that James Skinner's men are the most orderly in the Company's service, and that in every other qualification constituting the efficient soldier, they are second to none? On another signal which reverberated from the palace, where the drums announced that the descendant of Surya was no sluggard, we moved on through the yet silent capital towards the gate of the sun, where we found drawn up the quotas of Bheendir, Dailwarra, Amait, and Bansi, sent as an honorary guard by the Rana to escort us to the frontiers. As they would have been an incumbrance to me and an inconvenience to the country, from their laxity of discipline, after chatting with their leader, during a sociable ride, I dismissed them at the pass, with my respects to the Rana and their several chieftains. We reached the camp before eight o'clock, the distance being only thirteen miles. The spot chosen (and where I afterwards built a residence) was a rising ground between the villages of Mairta and Toos, sprinkled with trees, and for a space of four miles clear of the belt of forest which fringes the granite barriers of the valley. It commanded an entire view of the plains in the direction of Cheetore, still covered, excepting a patch of cultivation here and there, with jungle. The Tiger-mount, its preserves of game, and the mouldering hunting-seats of the Rana and his chieftains, were three miles to the north; to the south, a mile distant, we had the Beris River, abounding in trout; and the noble lake whence it issues, called after its founder the Oody Sagur, was not more than three to the west. For several reasons it was deemed advisable to choose a spot out of the valley; the health of the party, though not an unimportant, was not a principal motive for choosing such a distance from the court. The wretchedness in which we found it rendered a certain degree of interference requisite, and it was necessary that they should shake this off, in order to preserve their independence. It was dreaded lest the aid requested by the Rana, from the peculiar circumstances on our first going amongst them, might be construed as a precedent for the intrusion of advice on after occasions. The distance between the court and the agent of the British government, was calculated to diminish this impression, and obliged them also to trust to their own resources, after the machine was once set in motion. On the heights of Toos our tents were pitched, the escort paraded, and St. George's flag displayed. Here camels, almost wild, were fitted for the first time with the pack-saddle, lamenting in discordant gut-

turals the hardship of their fate, though luckily ignorant of the difference between grazing whither they listed in the happy valley, and carrying a load in "the region of death," where they would only find the thorny *mimosa* or prickly *phok* to satisfy their hunger.

PULANOH, *October 13th.* There being no greater trial of patience, than the preparations for a march after a long halt, we left the camp at day-break amidst the most discordant yells from the throats of a hundred camels, which drowned every attempt to be heard, while the elephants squeaked their delight in that peculiar treble, which they emit when happy. There was one little fellow enjoying himself free from all restraints of curbs or pack-saddles, and inserting his proboscis into the sepoy's baggage, whence he would extract a bag of flour and move off, pursued by the owner; which was sure to produce shouts of mirth to add to the discord. This little representative of Ganesa was only eight years old, and not more than twelve hands high. He was a most agreeable pet, though the proofs he gave of his wisdom in trusting himself amidst the men when cooking their dinners, were sometimes disagreeable to them, but infinitely amusing to those who watched his actions. The rains having broken up unusually late, we found the boggy ground, on which we had to march, totally unable to bear the pressure of loaded cattle; even the ridges, which just showed their crests of quartz above the surface, were not safe. Our route was over a fine plain well wooded and watered, soil excellent, and studded with numerous large villages; yet all presenting uniformly the effects of warfare and rapine. The landscape, rendered the more interesting by our long incarceration in the valley, was abstractedly, pleasing. On our left lay the mountains enclosing the capital, on one of whose elevated peaks are the ruins of Ratakote, overlooking all around; while to the east the eye might in vain seek for a boundary. We passed Deopur, once a township of some consequence, and forming part of the domain of the *Bhanaij*,* Zalim Sing, the heir of Marwar, whose history, if it could be given here, would redeem the nobles of Rajpootana from the charge of being of uncultivated intellect. In listening to his biography, both time and place were unheeded; the narrator, my own venerable *Guru*,† had imbibed much of his

* *Bhanaij*, or 'nephew,' a title of courtesy enjoyed by every chieftain who marries a daughter or immediate kinswoman of the Rana's house.

† My guide or instructor, Yati Jyan Chandra, a priest of the Jain sect, who had been with me ten years. To him I owe much, for he entered into all my antiquarian pursuits with zeal.

varied knowledge from this accomplished chieftain, to whom arms and letters were alike familiar. He was the son of Raja Beejy Sing and a princess of Mewar: but domestic quarrels made it necessary to abandon the paternal for the maternal mansion, and a domain was assigned by the Rana, which put him on a footing with his own children. Without neglecting any of the martial amusements and exercises of the Rajpoot, he gave up all those hours, generally devoted to idleness, to the cultivation of letters. He was versed in philosophical theology, astronomy, and the history of his country; and in every branch of poesy, from the sacred canticles of Jayadeva to the couplets of the modern bard, he was an adept. He composed and *improvised* with facility, and his residence was the rendezvous for every bard of fame. That my respected tutor did not over-rate his acquirements, I had the best proof in his own, for all which (and he rated them at an immeasurable distance compared with the subject of his eulogy) he held himself indebted to the heir of Marwar, who was at length slain in asserting his right to the throne in the desert.

After a four hour's march, picking our way amidst swamps and treacherous bogs, we reached the advanced tents at Pulanoh. Like Deopur, it presented the spectacle of a ruin, a corner of which held all its inhabitants; the remains of temples and private edifices shewed what it had once been. Both towns formerly belonged to the fisc of the Rana, who, with his usual improvidence, on the death of his nephew included them in the grant to the temple of Kaniya. I found at my tents the minister's right hand, Ram Sing Mehta; Manikchund, the *dewan* or *factotum* of the chieftain of Bheendir; and the ex-Raja of Nursingurh, now an exile at Oodipur. The first was a fine specimen of the non-militant class of these countries, and although he had seldom passed the boundaries of Mewar, no country could produce a better specimen of a courteous gentleman: his figure tall, deportment easy, features regular and handsome, complexion fair, with a fine slightly-curled beard and mustachios, jet black. Ram Sing, without being conceited, is aware that nature has been indulgent to him, and without any foppery he pays great attention to externals. He is always elegently attired, and varies with good taste the colours of his turban and ceinture, though his loose tunics are always white; the aroma of the *uttur* is the only mark of the dandy about him: and this forms no criterion, as our red coats attest, which receive a sprinkling at every visit. With his dagger and pendant tassel, and the *balabund* or purple cordon (the Rana's gift) round his turban, "behold the servant whom the king delighteth to honour." As he has to support himself by paying court

to the Rana's sister, the queens, and other fair influentials behind the curtain, his personal *attraits* are no slight auxiliaries. He is of the Jain faith, and of the tribe of Osi, which now reckons one hundred thousand families, all of Rajpoot origin, and descendants of the Agnicula stock. They proselytized in remote antiquity, and settling at the town of Osi in Marwar, retain this designation, or the still more common one of Oswal. It was from the Pramara and Solanki branches of the Agnicula race, that these assumed the doctrines of Budha or Jain, not however from the ranks of the Brahmins, but, as I firmly believe, from that faith, whatever it was, which these Scythic or Takshac tribes brought from beyond the Indus. In like manner we found the Chohan (also an Agnicula) regenerated by the Brahmins on Mount Aboo; while the fourth tribe, the Purihara (ancient sovereigns of Cashmere), have left traces in the monuments of their capital, Mundore, that they espoused the then prevailing faith of Rajasthan, namely, that of Budha.

Manikchund, also of the Jain faith, but of a different tribe (the Sambri), was in all the reverse of Ram Sing. He was tall, thin rather bent, and of swarthy complexion, and his tongue and his beads were in perpetual motion. He had mixed in all the intrigues of the last quarter of a century, and, setting Zalim Sing of Kotah aside, had more influenced events than any individual now alive. He was the organ of the Suktawuts, and the steward and counsellor of the head of this clan, the Bheendir chief; and being accordingly the irreconcilable foe of the Chondawuts, had employed all the resources of his talents and his credit to effect their humiliation. To this end, he has leagued with Sindhies, Pathans and Mahrattas, and would not have scrupled to coalesce with his Satanic majesty, could he thereby have advanced their revenge: in pursuance of which he has been detained in confinement as a hostage, put to torture from inability to furnish the funds he would unhesitatingly promise for aid, and all the while sure of death if he fell into the hands of his political antagonists. His talent and general information made him always a welcome guest: which was wormwood to the Chondawuts, who laid claim to a monopoly of patriotism, and stigmatised the Suktawuts as the destroyers of Mewar, though in truth both were equally blind to her interests in their contests for supremacy. He was now beyond fifty, and appeared much older; but was cheerful, good-humoured, and conversant in all the varied occurrences of the times. He at length completely established himself in the Rana's good graces, who gave his elder son a confidential employment. Had he lived, he would have been conspicuous, for he had all the talent of his father, with the personal adjuncts

possessed by Ram Sing; but being sensitive and proud, he swallowed poison, in consequence, it was said, of the severity of an undeserved rebuke from his father, and died generally regretted. I may here relate the end of poor Manika. It was on the ground we had just quitted that he visited me for the last time, on my return from the journey just commenced. He had obtained the contract for the whole transit duties of the state, at the rate of 2,50,000 rupees per annum. Whether from the corruption of his numerous deputy collectors, his own cupidity, or negligence, he professed his inability to fulfil the contract by nearly a sixth of the amount, though from his talents and promises, a perfect establishment of this important department, which had been taken from others on his account, was expected. It was difficult to judge charitably of his assertions, without giving occasion to his enemies to put a wrong construction on the motives. He pitched his tent near me, and requested an interview. He looked very disconsolate, and remarked, that he had seven several times left his tent, and as often turned back, the bird of omen having each time passed him on the adverse side; but that at length he had determined to disregard it, as, having forfeited confidence, he was indifferent to the future. He admitted the profligacy of his inferiors, whom he had not sufficiently superintended, and took his leave promising by assiduity to redeem his engagements, though his past character for intrigue made his asseverations doubtful. Again failing to make good his promises, or, as was surmised, having applied the funds to his own estate, he took *sirna* with the Raja of Shahpura; where, mortified in all probability by the reflection of the exultation of his rivals over his disgrace, and having lost the confidence of his own chief when he obtained that of the Rana, he had recourse to the usual expedient of these countries, when "perplexed in the extreme,"—took poison and died.

The last of the trio of visitors on this occasion, the Raja of Nursingurh, is now, as before stated, in exile. He is of the tribe of Omuta, one of thirty-six divisions of the Pramaras,* settled during fifteen generations in Central India, and giving the name Omutwarra to the petty sovereignty of which Nursingurh is the capital. Placed in the very heart of the predatory hordes; the Pindarries and Mahrattas occupied almost every village that owned their sway, and compelled him to the degradation of living under Holkar's orange standard, which waved over the battlements of his abode. To one or other of the great Mahratta leaders, Sindhia and Holkar, all the

* One of the four Agniculas.

petty princes were made tributary dependents, and Omutwarra had early acknowledged Holkar, paying the annual sum of eighty thousand rupees: but this vassalage did not secure the Raja from the ravages of the other spoliators, nor from the rapacity of the myrmidons of his immediate lord paramount. In 1817, when these countries, for the first time in many centuries, tasted the blessings of peace, Omutwarra was, like Mewar, a mass of ruins, its fertile lands being overgrown with the thorny *mimosa* or the useless *kesoola*. The Raja partook of the demoralization around him; he sought refuge in opium and *urruc* from his miseries, and was totally unfitted to aid in the work of redemption when happier days shone upon them. His son Chyne Sing contrived to escape those snares, and was found in every respect competent to co-operate in the work of renovation, and through the intervention of the British agent (Major Henley), an arrangement was effected, by which the Raja retired on a stipend and the son carried on the duties of government in his name.

It was unfortunate for these ancient races, that on the fortunate occasion presented in 1817-18, when both Sindhia and Holkar aimed at the overthrow of our power (the one treacherously cloaking his views, the other disclosing them in the field), our policy did not readily grasp it, to rescue all these states from ruin and dependence. Unfortunately, their peculiar history was little known, or it would have been easily perceived that they presented the exact materials we required between us, and the entire occupation of the country. But there was then a strong notion afloat of a species of balance of power, and it was imagined that these demoralized, and often humiliated Mahrattas, were the fittest materials to throw into the scale—against I know not what, except ourselves: for assuredly the day of our reverses will be a jubilee to them, and will level every spear that they can bring against our existence. They would merit contempt if they acted otherwise. Can they cease to remember that the orange flag which waved in triumph from the Sutledge to the Kistna, has been replaced by the cross of St. George? But the snake which flutters in tortuous folds thereon, fitting crest for the wily Mahratta, is only scathed, and may yet call forth the lance of the red-cross knight to give the *coup de grace*.* Let it then be remembered that, both as regards good policy and justice, we owe to these states—independence.

To what does our interference with Omutwarra tend, but to realize the tribute of Holkar; to fix a millstone round their

* Sindhia's flag is a snake *argent* on an *orange* field.

necks, which, notwithstanding the comparative happiness they enjoy, will keep them always repining, and to secure which, will make our interference eternal. Had a due advantage been taken of the hostilities in 1817, it might have obviated these evils by sending the predatory sovereign of half a century's duration to a more restricted sphere. It may be said that it is easy to devise plans years after the events which immediately called for them: these not only were mine at the time, but we suggested to the proper authorities; and I am still disposed to think my views correct.

After chatting some time with the two chiefs described, and presenting them with *uttur* and *pan*,* they took leave.

NATHDWARA—*October 14th*—Marched at day-break and found the route almost impracticable for camels, from the swampy nature of the soil. The country is much broken with irregular low ridges of micaceous schist, in the shape of a chine or hog's back, the crest of which has throughout all its length a vein of quartz piercing the slate, and resembling a backbone; the direction of these veins is uniformly N.N.E., and the inclination about 75° to the east. Crossed the Nathdwara ridge, about four hundred feet in height, and like the hills encircling the valley, composed of a brown granite intersected with protruding veins of quartz, incumbent on the blue compact slate. The ascent was a mile and a half east of the town, and on the summit, which is table-land, there are two small lakes, whence water-courses conduct streams on each side of the road to supply the temple and the town. There are noble trees planted on either side of these rivulets, forming a delightful shade. As we passed through the town to our encampment on the opposite side of the Bunas river, the inhabitants crowded the streets, shouting their grateful acknowledgments to the power which had redeemed the sacred precints of Kaniya from the scenes of turpitude amidst which they had grown up. They were all looking forward with much pleasure to the approaching festival of Annacuta.

Oct. 15th—Halted to allow the baggage to join, which, partly from the swamps, and partly from the intractable

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* *Pan*, 'the leaf;' *Pan* and *Pat*, the Sanskrit for 'a leaf;' and hence *panna*, 'a leaf or sheet of paper;' and *patera* 'a plate of metal or sacrificial cup,' because these vessels were first made of leaves. I was amused with the coincidence between the Sanscrit and Tuscan *panna*. That lovely subject by Rapheal, the "*Madonna impannata*," in the Pitti palace at Florence, is so called from the subdued light admitted through the window, the *panes* of which are of paper.

temper of the cattle, we have not seen since we parted company at Mairta. Received a visit from the *mookhia* of the temple, accompanied by a pilgrim in the person of a rich banker of Surat. A splendid quilted cloak of gold brocade, a blue scarf with a deep border of gold, and an embroidered band for the head were brought to me as the gift of the god through his Highpriest, in testimony of my zeal. I was also honoured with a tray of the sacred food, which consisted of all the dried fruits, spices, and aromatics of the East. In the evening, I had a portion of the afternoon repast, consisting of a preparation of milk; but the days of simplicity are gone, and the Apollo of Vrij has his curds adulterated with rose-water and amber. Perhaps, with the exception of Lodi, where is fabricated the far-famed *parmasan*, whose pastures maintain forty thousand kine, there is no other place known which possesses more than the city of the Hindu Apollo, though but a tenth of that of Lodi. But from the four thousand cows, the expenditure of milk and butter for the votaries of Kaniya may be judged. I was entertained with the opinions of the old banker on the miraculous and oracular power of the god of Nathdwara. He had just been permitted to prostrate himself before the car which conveyed the deity from the Yamuna, and held forth on the impiety of the age, in withholding the transmission of the miraculous wheels from heaven, which in former days came once in six months. The most devout alone are permitted to worship the chariot of Kaniya. The garments which decorate his representative are changed several times a day, to imitate the different stages of his existence, from the youthful Bala to the conqueror of Kansa; or as the Surat devotee said in broken English. "Oh, Sir, he be much great god; he first of all; and he change from de *baluk*, or child, to de fierce chief, with de bow and arrow a hees hands;" while the old *mookhia*, whose office it is to perambulate the whole continent of India as one of the couriers of Kaniya, lifted up his eyes, as he ejaculated "Sri Kishna! Sri Kishna!" I gave him a paper addressed to all officers of the British Government who might pass through the lands of the church, recommending the protection of the peacocks and peepul trees, and to forbear polluting the precincts of the god with the blood of animals. To avoid the offending against their prejudices in this particular, I crossed the river, and killed our fowls within our own sanctuary, and afterwards concealed the murder by burying the feathers.

OOSURWAS.—*October, 16th.*—There is nothing so painful as sitting down inactive when the mind is bent upon an object. Our escort was yet labouring in the swamps, and as we could

not be worse off than we were, we deemed it better to advance, and accordingly decamped in the afternoon, sending on a tent to Oosurwas; but though the distance was only eight miles we were benighted, and had the comfort to find [illegible] Futteh, *the victorious*, floundering with his load in a bog, out of which he was picking his way in a desperate rage. It is usually the driver's fault when such an accident occurs; for if there be but a foot's breadth of sound footing, so sensible is the animal that he is sure to avoid danger if left to his own discretion, with the free use of his proboscis, with which he thumps the ground as he cautiously proceeds step by step, giving signals to his keeper of the safety or the reverse of advancing, as clearly as if he spoke. Futteh's signals had been disregarded, and he was accordingly in a great passion at finding himself abused, and kept from his cakes and butter, of which he had always thirty pound's weight at sunset. The sagacity of the elephant is well known, and was in no instance better displayed than in the predicament above described. I have seen the huge monster in a position which to me must have been appalling; but, with an instinctive reliance on others, he awaited in tolerable patience the arrival of materials for his extrication, in the shape of fascines and logs of wood, which being thrown to him, he placed deliberately in front, and making a stout resistance with head, teeth, and foot, pressing the wood, he brought up one leg after the other in a most methodical and pioneer-like manner, till he delivered himself from his miry prison. Futteh did not require such aid; but, aware that the fault was not his, he soon indignantly shook the load off his back, and left them to get it out in any manner they chose.

Waited to aid in reloading, and it being already dusk, pushed on with my dog Belle, who, observing a couple of animals, darted off into the jungles, and led me after her, as fast as the devious paths in such a savage scene would permit. But I soon saw her scampering down the height, the game, in the shape of two huge wolves, close at her heels, and delighted to find rescue at hand. I have no doubt their retreat from my favourite greyhound was a mere *ruse de guerre* to lead her beyond supporting distance, and they had nearly effected their object; they went off in a very sulky and leisurely manner. In my subaltern days, when with the subsidiary force in Gohud, I remember scouring the tremendous ravines near the Antri pass to get a spear at a wolf, my companion (Lieut, now Lieut.-Col. T. D. Smith) and myself were soon surrounded by many scores of these hungry animals, who prowled about our camp all night, having carried off a child the night before. As we charged in one direction, they gave way; but kept upon our quarters

without the least fear, and seemingly enjoyed the fun. I do not recollect whether it excited any other feeling than mirth. They shewed no symptom of ferocity, or desire to make a meal of us; or a retreat from these ravines, with their superior topographical knowledge, would doubtless have been difficult.

We crossed the Bunas river, just escaping from the rock-bound barriers, our path almost in contact with the water to the left. The stream was clear as crystal, and of great depth; the banks low and verdant, and fringed with wood. It was a lovely, lonely spot, and well deserved to be consecrated by legendary tale. In ancient times, ere these valleys were trod by the infidel Tatar, coco-nuts were here presented to the genius of the river, whose arm appeared above the waters to receive them; but ever since some unhallowed hand threw a stone in lieu of a coco-nut, the arm has been withdrawn. Few in fact lived, either to supply or keep alive the traditions which lend a charm to a journey through these wild scenes, though full of bogs and wolves. We reached our journey's end very late and though no tents were up, we had the consolation to spy the cook in a snug corner with a leg of mutton before some blazing logs, round which he had placed the wall of a tent to check the force of the mountain air. We all congregated round the cook's fire, and were infinitely happier in the prospect before us, and with the heavens for our canopy, than with all our accustomed conveniences and fare. Every one this day had taken his own road, and each had his adventure to relate. Our repast was delicious; nor did any favourable account reach us of tents or other luxuries to mar our enjoyments, till midnight, when the *fly* of the doctor's tent arrived, of which we availed ourselves as a protection against the heavy dews of the night; and though our bivouac was in a ploughed field, and we were surrounded by wild beasts in a silent waste, they proved no drawbacks to the enjoyment of repose.

Halted the *17th*, to collect the dislocated baggage; for although such scenes, seasoned with romance, might do very well for *us*, our followers were ignorant of the name of Ann Radcliffe or other conjurors; and though admirers of tradition, like myself, preferred it after dinner. Oosurwas is a valuable village, but now thinly inhabited. It was recently given by the Rana, with his accustomed want of reflection, to a Charun bard, literally for an old song. But even this folly was surpassed on his bestowing the township of Seesodia, in the valley in advance, the place from which his tribe takes its appellation, on another of the fraternity, named Kishna, his master bard, who has the art to make his royal patron believe that opportunity alone is wanting to render his name as famed as that of the illustrious

Sanga, or the immortal Pertap. I received and returned the visit of an ascetic Sanyasi, whose hermitage was perched upon a cliff not far from our tents. Like most of his brethren, he was intelligent, and had a considerable store of local and foreign legends at command. He was dressed in a loose orange-coloured unga or tunic, with a turban of the same material, in which was twisted a necklace of the lotus kernel; he had another in his hand, with which he repeated the name of the deity at intervals. He expressed his own surprise and the sentiments of the inhabitants at the tranquillity they enjoyed, without any tumultuary cause being discoverable; and said that we must be something more than human. This superstitious feeling for a while was felt as well by the prince and the turbulent chief, as by the anchorite of Oosurwas.

October 18th.—Marched at daybreak to Sumaicha, distance of twelve miles. Again found our advanced elephant and breakfast-tent in a swamp: halted to extricate him from his difficulties. The road from Nathdwara is but a footpath, over or skirting a succession of low broken ridges, covered with prickly shrubs, as the Khyr, the Khureel, and Babool. At the village of Gong Goorah, midway in the morning's journey, we entered the Alpine valley called the Shero Nulla. The village of Goorah is placed in the opening or break in the range through which the river flows, whose serpentine meanderings indicate the only road up this majestic valley. On the banks or in its bed, which we frequently crossed, lay the remainder of this day's march. The valley varies in breadth, but is seldom less than half a mile, the hills rising boldly from their base; some with a fine and even surface covered with mangoe trees, others lifting their splintered pinnacles into the clouds. Nature has been lavish of her beauties to this romantic region. The *goolur* or wild fig, the *sitäphal* or custard-apple, the peach or *aroo bodam* (almond-peach), are indigenous and abundant; the banks of the stream are shaded by the withy, while the large trees, the useful mangoe and picturesque tamarind, the sacred peepul and burr, are abundantly scattered with many others, throughout. Nor has nature in vain appealed to human industry and ingenuity to second her intents. From the margin of the stream on each side to the mountain's base, they have constructed a series of terraces rising over each other, whence by simple and ingenious methods they raise the waters to irrigate the rich crops of sugarcane, cotton, and rice, which they cultivate upon them. Here we have a proof that ingenuity is the same, when prompted by necessity, in the Jura or the Aravali. Wherever soil could be found, or time decomposed these primitive rocks, a barrier was raised. When discovered, should

it be in a hollow, below, or on the summit of a crag, it is alike greedily seized on: even there water is found, and if you leave the path below and ascend a hundred feet above the terraces, you will discover pools or reservoirs dammed in with massive trees, which serve to irrigate such insulated spots, or serve as nurseries to the young rice-plants. Not unfrequently, their labour is entirely destroyed, and the dykes swept away by the periodical inundations; for we observed the high-water-mark in the trees considerably up the acclivity. The rice crop was abundant, and the *joar* or maize was thriving, but scanty; the standard autumnal crop which preceded it, the *makhi*, or 'Indian corn,' had been entirely devoured by the locust. The sugar-cane, by far the most valuable product of this curious region, was very fine, but sparingly cultivated from the dread of this insect, which for the last three years had ravaged the valley. There are two species of locusts, which come in clouds, darkening the air, from the desert: the *farka* and the *teeri* are their names; the first is the great enemy of our incipient prosperity. I observed a colony some time ago proceeding eastward with a rustling, rushing sound, like a distant torrent, or the wind in a forest at the fall of the leaf. We have thus to struggle against natural and artificial obstacles to the rising energies of the country; and dread of the *farkas* deters speculators from renting this fertile tract, which almost entirely belongs to the fisc. Its natural fertility cannot be better demonstrated than in recording the success of an experiment, which produced *five crops, from the same piece of ground, within thirteen months.* It must, however, be understood that two of these are species of millet, which are cut in six weeks from the time of sowing. A patch of ground, for which the cultivator pays six rupees rent, will produce sugar-cane six hundred rupees in value: but the labour and expense of cultivation are heavy, and cupidity too often deprives the husbandman of the greater share of the fruits, ninety rupees having been taken in arbitrary taxes, besides his original rent.

The air of this elevated region gave vigour to the limbs, and appetite to the disordered stomach. There was an exhilarating *fraicheur*, which made us quite frantic; the transition being from 96° of Fahrenheit to English summer heat. We breakfasted in a verdant spot under the shade of a noble fig-tree fanned by the cool breezes from the mountains.

SUMAICHA consists of three separate hamlets, each of about one hundred houses. It is situated at the base of a mountain distinctively termed *Rana Paj*, from a well known *path* by which the Ranas secured their retreat to the upland wilds when hard pushed by the Moguls. It also leads direct

to the capital of the district, avoiding the circuitous route we were pursuing. Sumaicha is occupied by the Koombhawuts, descendants of Rana Koombho, who came in a body with their elders at their head to visit me, bringing the famed *cukri* of the valley (often three feet in length), curds, and a kid as gifts. I rose to receive these Rajaputras, the Bhomias or yeomen of the valley; and though undistinguishable in dress from the commonest cultivator, I did homage to their descent. Indeed, they did not require the auxiliaries of dress, their appearance being so striking as to draw forth spontaneous exclamation from my friends, "what noble-looking fellows!" Their tall and robust figures, sharp acquiline features, and flowing beards, with a native dignity of demeanour, (though excepting their chiefs, who wore turbans and scarfs, they were in their usual labouring dresses, immense loose breeches and turbans,) compelled respect and admiration. Formerly they gave one hundred matchlocks for garrison duty at Komulmeer: but the Mahrattas have pillaged and impoverished them. These are the real allodial tenants of the land, performing personal local service, and paying an annual quit-rent. I conciliated their good opinion by talking of the deeds of old days, the recollection of which a Rajpoot never outlives. The assembly under the fig-tree was truly picturesque, and would have furnished a good subject for Gerard Dow. Our baggage joined us at Sumaicha; but many of our camels were already worn out by labouring through swamps, for which they are by nature incapacitated.

October 19th.—Marched to Kailwara, the capital of this mountainous region, and the abode of the Ranas when driven from Cheetore and the plains of the Bunas; on which occasion these valleys received and maintained a great portion of the population of Mewar. There is not a rock or a stream that has not some legend attached to it, connected with these times. The valley presents the same features as already described. Passed a cleft in the mountain on the left, through which a stream rushes, called the "Elephant's Pool," a short cut may be made by the foot passenger to Kailwara, but it is too intricate for any unaccustomed to these wilds to venture. We could not ascertain the origin of the "Elephant's Pool," but it is most likely connected with ancient warfare. Passed the village of Moorcho, held by a Rahtore chieftain. On the margin of a small lake adjoining the village, a small and very neat sacrificial altar attracted my regard; and not satisfied with the reply that it was *satti ca macan*, 'the place of faith,' I sent to request the attendance of the village seer. It proved to be that of the ancestor of the occupant: a proof of devotion to her husband, who had fallen in the wars waged by Arungzebe

against this country; when, with a relic of her lord, she mounted the pyre. He is sculptured on horse-back, with lance at rest, to denote that it is no churl to whom the record is devoted.

Near the "Elephant's Pool," and at the village of Kheyrlee, two roads diverge: one, by the Birgoola *nal* or pass, conducts direct to Nathdwara; the other, leading to Reechair, and the celebrated shrine of the *four-armed god*, famed as a place of pilgrimage. The range on our left terminating abruptly, we turned by Oladur to Kailwara, and encamped in a mangoe-grove, on a table-land half a mile north of the town. Here the valley enlarges, presenting a wild, picturesque, and rugged appearance. The barometer indicated about a thousand feet of elevation above the level of Oodipur, which is about two thousand above the sea: yet we were scarcely above the base of the Alpine cliffs which towered around us on all sides. It was the point of divergence for the waters, which, from the the numerous fountains in these uplands, descended each declivity, to refresh the arid plains of Marwar to the west, and to swell the lakes of Mewar to the east. Previous to the damming of the stream which forms that little ocean, the Kunkerowli lake, it is asserted that the supply to the west was very scanty, nearly, all flowing eastward, or through the valley; but since the formation of the lake, and consequent saturation of the intermediate region, the streams are ever flowing to the west. The spot where I encamped was at least five hundred feet lower than Arait Pol, the first of the fortified barriers leading to Komulmeer, whose citadel rose more than seven hundred feet above the *terre-pleine* of its outworks beneath.

The Maharaja Dowlut Sing, a near relative of the Rana, and governor of Komulmeer, attended by a numerous suite, the crimson standard, trumpets, kettledrum, seneschal, and bard, advanced several miles to meet and conduct me to the castle. According to etiquette, we both dismounted and embraced, and afterwards rode together conversing on the affairs of the province, and the generally altered condition of the country. Dowlut Sing, being of the immediate kin of his sovereign, is one of the *babas* or infants of Mewar, enumerated in the tribe called Ranawut with the title of Maharaja. Setting aside the family of Sheodan Sing, he is the next in succession to the reigning family. He is one of the few over whom the general demoralization has had no power, and he remains a simple-minded, straight-forward, honest man; blunt, unassuming, and courteous. His rank and character particularly qualify him for the post he holds on this western frontier, which is the key to Marwar. It was in February 1818 that I obtained possession of this place (Komulmeer), by negotiating the arrears of the

garrison. Gold is the cheapest, surest, and most expeditious of all generals in the East, amongst such mercenaries as we had to deal with, who change masters with the same facility as they would their turban. In twenty-four hours we were put in possession of the fort, and as we had not above one-third of the stipulated sum in ready cash, they without hesitation took a bill of exchange, *written on the drum-head*, on the merchantile town of Pally in Marwar: in such estimation is British faith held, even by the most lawless tribes of India! Next morning we saw them winding down the western declivity, while we quietly took our breakfast in an old ruined temple. During this agreeable employment, we were joined by Major Macleod, of the artillery, sent by General Donkin to report on the facilities of reducing the place by siege, and his opinion being, that a gun could not be placed in position in less than six weeks, the grilling spared the European force in such a region was well worth the £4,000 of arrears. My own escort and party remained in possession for a week, until the Rana sent his garrision. During these eight days, our time was amply occupied in sketching and deciphering the monumental records of this singularly diversified spot. It would be vain to attempt describing the intricacies of approach to this far-famed abode, whose exterior is delineated by the pencil. A massive wall, with numerous towers and pierced battlements, having a strong resemblance to the Etruscan, encloses a space of some miles extent below, while the pinnacle or *sikra* rises like the crown of the Hindu Cybele, a tier above tier of battlements, to the summit, which is crowned with the *Badul mahl*, or "cloud-palace' of the Ranas. Thence the eye ranges over the sandy deserts, and the chaotic mass of mountains, which are on all sides covered with the *cactus*, which luxuriates amidst the rocks of the Aravali. Besides the *Arait pol*, or barrier thrown across the first narrow ascent, about one mile from Kailwara, there is a second called the *Hulla pol*, intermediate to the *Hanuman pol*, the exterior gate of the fortress between which and the summit there are three more *viz.* the gate of victory, the sanguinary gate, and that of Rama, besides the last, or *Chougun pol*. The barometer stood, at half past seven A. M., 26° 65′; thermometer 58° Fahr. at the *Arait pol*: and on the summit at nine, while the thermometer rose to 75°, the barometer had only descended 15′, and stood at 26° 50′,* though we had ascended full six hundred feet. Admitting the last range as our guide, the peak of Komulmeer will be 3,353 feet

* At four o'clock P. M., same position, thermometer 81°; barometer, 6°85′.

above the level of the ocean. Hence I laid down the positions of many towns far in the desert. Here were subjects to occupy the pencil at least for a month; but we had only time for one of the most interesting views, the Jain temple, to place before the reader, and a sketch of the fortress itself, both finished on the spot. The design of this temple is truly classic. It consists only of the sanctuary, which has vaulted dome and colonnaded portico all round. The architecture is undoubtedly Jain, which is as distinct in character from the Brahminical as their religion. There is a chasteness and simplicity in this specimen of monotheistic worship, affording a wide contrast to the elaborately sculptured shrines of the Saivas, and other polytheists of India. The extreme want of decoration best attests its antiquity, entitling us to attribute it to that period when Sumpriti Raja, of the family of Chandragupta, was paramount sovereign over all these regions, (two hundred years before Christ); to whom tradition ascribes the most ancient monuments of this faith, yet existing in Rajasthan and Saurashtra. The proportions and forms of the columns are especially distinct from the other temples, being slight and tapering instead of massive, the general characteristic of Hindu architecture; while the projecting cornices, which would absolutely deform shafts less slight, are peculiarly indicative of the *Takshac* architect. Sumpriti was the fourth prince in descent from Chandragupta, of the Jain faith, and the ally of Seleucus, the Grecian sovereign of Bactriana. The fragments of Megasthenes, ambassador from Seleucus, record, that this alliance was most intimate; that the daughter of the Rajpoot king was married to Seleucus, who, in return for elephants and other gifts, sent a body of Greek soldiers to serve Chandragupta. It is curious to contemplate the possibility, nay the probability, that the Jain temple now before the reader may have been designed by Grecian artists, or that the taste of the artists among the Rajpoots may have been modelled after the Grecian. This was our temple of Theseus in Mewar. A massive monolithic emblem of black marble of the Hindu Jivapitri, had been improperly introduced into the shrine of the worshippers of the "spirit alone." Being erected on the rock, and chiselled from the syenite on which it stands, it may bid defiance to time. There was another sacred structure in its vicinity, likewise Jain, but of a distinct character; indeed, offering a perfect contrast to that described. It was three stories in height; each tier was decorated with numerous massive low columns, resting on a sculptured panneled parapet, and sustaining the roof of each story, which being very low, admitted but a broken light to break the pervading gloom. I

should imagine that the sacred architects of the East had studied effect equally with the preservers of learning and the arts in the dark period of Europe, when those monuments, which must ever be her pride, arose on the ruins of paganism. How far the Saxon or Scandinavian pagan contributed to the general design of such structures may be doubted; but that their decorations, especially the grotesque, have a powerful resemblance to the most ancient Hindu-Scythic, there is no question, as I shall hereafter more particularly point out.

Who, that has a spark of imagination, but has felt the indescribable emotion which the gloom and silence of a Gothic cathedral excites? The very extent provokes a comparison humiliating to the pigmy spectator, and this is immeasurably increased when the site is the mountain pinnacle, where man and his works fade into nothing in contemplating the magnificent expanse of nature. The Hindu priest did not raise the temple for heterogeneous multitudes; he calculated that the mind would be more highly excited when left to its solitary devotions, amidst the silence of these cloistered columns undisturbed save by the monotony of the passing bell, while the surrounding gloom is broken only by the flare of the censer as the incense mounts above the altar.

It would present no distinct picture to the eye, were I to describe each individual edifice within the scope of vision, either upwards towards the citadel or below. Looking down from the Jain temple towards the pass, till the contracting gorge is lost in distance, the gradually diminishing space is filled with masses of ruin. I will only notice two of the most interesting. The first is dedicated to *Mama devi* 'the mother of the gods,' whose shrine is on the brow of the mountain overlooking the pass. The goddess is placed in the midst of her numerous family, including the greater and lesser divinities. They are all of the purest marble, each about three feet in height, and tolerably executed, though evidently since the decline of the art, of which very few good specimens exist, executed within the last seven centuries. The temple is very simple and primitive, consisting but of a long hall, around which the gods are ranged, without either niche or altar.

The most interesting portion of this temple is its court, formed by a substantial wall enclosing a tolerable area. The interior of this wall had been entirely covered with immense tables of black marble, on which was inscribed the history of their gods, and, what was of infinitely greater importance, that of the mortal princes who had erected the tablets in their honour. But what a sight for the antiquary! Not one of the many

tables was entire ; the fragments were strewed about, or placed in position to receive the flesh-pots of the sons of Ishmael, the mercenary Rohilla Afghan.*

On quitting the temple of Mama Devi, my attention was attracted by a simple monumental shrine on the opposite side of the valley, and almost in the gorge of the pass. It was most happily situated, being quite isolated, overlooking the road leading to Marwar, and consisted of a simple dome of very moderate dimensions, supported by columns, without any intervening object to obstruct the view of the little monumental altar arising out of the centre of the platform. It was the Sybilline temple of Tivoli in miniature. To it, over rock and ruin, I descended. Here repose the ashes of the Troubadour of Mewar, the gallant Prithwiraj, and his heroine wife, Tarra Bhae whose lives and exploits fill many a page of the legendary romances of Mewar.

This fair 'Star' (*tarra*) was the daughter of Rao Soortan, the chieftain of Bednore. He was of the Solanki tribe, the lineal descendant of the famed Balhara kings of Anhulwarra. Thence expelled by the arms of Alla in the thirteenth century, they migrated to Central India, and obtained possession of Tonk-Thoda and its lands on the Bunas, which from remote times had been occupied (perhaps founded) by the Taks, and hence bore the name of Taksillanuggur, familiarly Takipur and Thoda.† Soortan had been deprived of Thoda by Lilla, the Afghan, and now occupied Bednore at the foot of the Aravalli, within the bounds of Mewar. Stimulated by the reverses of her family, and by the incentives of its ancient glory, Tarra Bhae, scorning the habiliments and occupations of

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* These people assert their Coptic origin : being driven from Egypt by one of the Pharoahs, they wandered eastward till they arrived under that peak of the mountains west of the Indus called *Suliman-e-koh*, or 'Hill of Solomon,' where they halted. Others draw their descent from the lost tribes. They are a very marked race, and as unsettled as their forefathers, serving every where. They are fine gallant men, and when managed by such officers as Skinner, make excellent and orderly soldiers ; but they evince great contempt for the eaters of swine, who are their abomination.

† From the ruins of its temples, remnants of Takshac architecture, the amateur might speedily fill a portfolio. This tract abounds with romantic scenery : Rajmahl on the Bunas, Gokurn, and many others. Herbert calls Cheetore the abode of Taxiles, the ally of Alexander. The Taks were all of the race of *Pooru*, so that *Porus* is a generic, not a proper name. This Taksilla-nuggur has been a large city. We owe thanks to emperor Baber, who has given us the position of the city of Taxiles, where Alexander left it west of the Indus.

her sex, learned to guide the war-horse, and throw with unerring aim the arrow from his back, even while at speed. Armed with the bow and quiver, and mounted on a fiery Kattyawar, she joined the cavalcade in their unsuccessful attempts to wrest Thoda from the Afghan. Jeimul, the third son of Rana Raemul, in person made proposals for her hand. "Redeem Thoda," said the Star of Bednore, "and my hand is thine." He assented to the terms: but evincing a rude determination to be possessed of the prize ere he had earned it, he was slain by the indignant father. Prithwi-raj, the brother of the deceased, was then an exile in Marwar; he had just signalized his valour, and ensured his father's forgiveness, by the redemption of Godwar, and the catastrophe at Bednore determined him to accept the gage thrown down to Jeimul. Fame and the bard had carried the renown of Prithwi-raj far beyond the bounds of Mewar; the name alone was attractive to the fair, and when thereto he who bore it added all the chivalrous ardor of his prototype, the Chohan, Tarra Bhae, with the sanction of her father, consented to be his, on the simple asseveration that "he would restore to them Thoda, or he was "no true Rajpoot." The anniversary of the martyrdom of the sons of Alli was the season chosen for the exploit. Prithwi-raj formed a select band of five hundred cavaliers, and accompanied by his bride, the fair Tarra, who insisted on partaking his glory and his danger, he reached Thoda at the moment the *tazzia* or bier containing the martyr-brothers, was placed in the centre of the *chouk* or 'square.' The prince, Tarra Bhae, and the faithful Sengar chief, the inseparable companion of Prithwi-raj, left their cavalcade, and joined the procession as it passed under the balcony of the palace in which the Afghan was putting on his dress preparatory to descending. Just as he had asked, who were the strange horsemen that had joined the throng, the lance of Prithwi-raj and an arrow from the bow of his Amazonian bride stretched him on the floor. Before the crowd recovered from the panic, the three reached the gate of the town, where their exit was obstructed by an elephant. Tarra Bhae, with her scimitar divided his trunk, and the animal flying, they joined their cavalcade, which was close at hand.

The Afghans were encountered, and could not stand the attack. Those who did not fly were cut to pieces; and the gallant Prithwi-raj inducted the father of his bride into his inheritance. A brother of the Afghans, in his attempt to recover it, lost his life. The Nawab Mulloo Khan then holding Ajmeer, determined to oppose the Seesodia prince in person; who resolved upon being the assailant, advanced to Ajmeer

encountered his foe in the camp at day-break, and after great slaughter entered Gurh Beetli, the citadel, with the fugitives. "By these acts," says the chronicle, "his fame increased in Rajwarra: one thousand Rajpoots, animated by the same love of glory and devotion, gathered round the *nakarras* of Prithwi-raj. Their swords shone in the heavens, and were dreaded on the earth; but they aided the defenceless."

Another story is recorded and confirmed by Mahomedan writers as to the result, though they are ignorant of the impulse which prompted the act. Prithwi-raj on some occasion found the Rana conversing familiarly with an *ahdy* of the Malwa king, and feeling offended at the condescension, expressed himself with warmth. The Rana ironically replied: "you are a mighty seizer of kings; but for me, I desire to retain my land." Prithwi-raj abruptly retired, collected his band, made for Neemutch, where he soon gathered five thousand horse, and reaching Depalpur, plundered it, and slew the governor. The king on hearing of the irruption, left Mandoo at the head of what troops he could collect; but the Rajpoot prince, in lieu of retreating, rapidly advanced and attacked the camp while refreshing after the march. Singling out the royal tent, occupied by eunuchs and females, the king was made captive, and placed on an express camel beside the prince, who warned the pursuers to follow peaceably, or he would put his majesty to death; adding that he intended him no harm, but that after having made him "touch his father's feet" he should restore him to liberty. Having carried him direct to Cheetore and to his father's presence, he turned to him saying, "send for your friend the *ahdy*, and ask him who this is?" The Malwa king was detained a month within the walls of Cheetore, and having paid his ransom in horses, was set at liberty with every demonstration of honour. Prithwi-raj returned to Komulmeer, his residence, and passed his life in exploits like these from the age of fourteen to twenty-three, the admiration of the country and the theme of the bard.

It could not be expected that long life would be the lot of one who thus courted distinction, though it was closed neither by shot nor sabre, but by poison, when on the eve of prosecuting his unnatural feud against his brother Sanga, the place of whose retreat was made known by his marriage with the daughter of the chieftain of Srinuggur, who had dared to give him protection in defiance of his threats.

At the same time he received a letter from his sister, written in great grief, complaining of the barbarous treatment of her lord, the Sirohi prince, from whose tyranny she begged to be delivered and to be restored to the paternal roof; since

whenever he had indulged too freely in the 'essence of the flower,' or in opium, he used to place her under the bedstead, and leave her to sleep on the floor. Prithwi-raj instantly departed, reached Sirohi at midnight, scaled the palace, and interrupted the repose of Pabhoo Rao by placing his poniard at his throat. His wife, notwithstanding his cruelty, complied with his humiliating appeal for mercy, and begged his life, which was granted on condition of his standing as a suppliant with his wife's shoes on his head, and touching her feet, the lowest mark of degradation. He obeyed, was forgiven, and embraced by Prithwi-raj, who become his guest during five days. Pabhoo Rao was celebrated for a confection, of which he presented some to his brother at parting. He partook of it as he came in sight of Komulmeer; but on reaching the shrine of Mama Devi was unable to proceed. Here he sent a message to the fair Tarra to come and bid him fare-well; but so subtle was the poison, that death had overtaken him ere she descended from the citadel. Her resolution was soon formed; the pyre was erected, and with the mortal remains of the chivalrous Prithwi-raj in her embrace, she sought "the regions of the sun." Such the end of the Seesodia prince, and the Star of Bednore! From such instances we must form our opinion of the manners of these people. But for the poisoned confection of the chief of Sirohi, Prithwi-raj would have had the glory of opposing himself to Baber, instead of his heroic brother and successor, Sanga. Whether, from his superior order of temperament, and the love of military glory which attracted similarly-constituted minds to his fortunes, he would have been more successful than his brother, it is futile to conjecture.

Oct. 20—Halted till noon, that the men might dress their dinners, and prepare for the descent into "the region of death," or Marwar. The pass by which we had to gain it was represented as terrific; but as both horse and elephant, with the aid of the hatchet, will pick their way wherever man can go, we determined to persevere. Struck the camp at noon, when the baggage filed off, halting ourselves till three; the escort and advance tents, and part of the *cuisine* being ordered to clear the pass, while we designed to spend the night mid-way in a spot forming the natural boundary of Mewar and Marwar, reported to be sufficiently capacious. Rumour had not magnified the difficulties of the descent, which we found strewed with our baggage, arresting all progress for a full hour. For nearly a mile there was but just breadth sufficient to admit the passage of a loaded elephant, the descent being at an angle of 55° with the horizon, and

streams on either side rushing with a deafening roar over their rugged beds. As we gained a firmer footing at the base of this first descent, we found that the gallant Manika, the gift of my friend, the Boondi prince, had missed his footing and rolled down the steep, breaking the cantle of the saddle; a little further appeared the cook, hanging in dismay over the scattered implements of his art, his camel remonstrating against the replacing of his *cujawas* or panniers. For another mile it became more gentle, when we passed under a tower of Kumulmeer, erected on a scraped projection of the rock, full five hundred feet above us. The scenery was magnificent; the mountains, rising on each side in every variety of form, and their summits, as they caught a ray of the departing sun, reflecting on our sombre path a momentary gleam from the masses of rose-coloured quartz which crested them. Noble forest trees covered every face of the hills and the bottom of the glen, through which, along the margin of the serpentine torrent which we repeatedly crossed, lay our path. Notwithstanding all our mishaps, partly from the novelty and grandeur of the scene, and partly from the invigorating coolness of the air, our mirth became wild and clamorous: a week before, I was oppressed with thousand ills; and now I trudged the rugged path, leaping the masses of granite which had rolled into the torrent.

There was one spot where the waters formed a pool or *de*. Little Cary determined to trust to his pony to carry him across, but deviating to the left, just as I was leaping from a projecting ledge, to my horror, horse and rider disappeared. The shock was momentary, and a good ducking the only result, which in the end was the luckiest thing that could have befallen him. On reaching the Hattidurra, or 'Barrier of the Elephant' (a very appropriate designation for a mass of rock serving as a rampart to shut up the pass), where we had intended to remain the night, we found no spot capacious enough even for a single tent. Orders accordingly passed to the rear for the baggage to collect there, and wait the return of day to continue the march. The shades of night were fast descending, and we proceeded almost in utter darkness towards the banks of the stream, the roar of whose waters was our guide, and not a little perplexed by the tumultuous rush which issued from every glen, to join what we were seeking. Towards the termination of the descent the path became wider, and the voice of the waters of a deeper and hoarser tone, as they glided to gain the plains of Marwar. The vault of heaven, in which there was not a cloud, appeared as an arch to the perpendicular cliffs surrounding us on all sides, and the stars beamed with peculiar brilliancy from the confined space through which we

viewed them. As we advanced in perfect silence, fancy busily at work on what might befall our straggling retinue from the ferocious tiger and plundering mountaineer, a gleam of light suddenly flashed upon us on emerging from the brushwood, and disclosed a party of dismounted cavaliers seated round their night-fires under some magnificent fig-trees.*

Halted, and called a council of war to determine our course: we had gained the spot, our guides had assigned as the only fitting one for *bivouac* before we reached the plains beyond the mountains: it afforded shade from dew, and plenty of water. The *munitions de bouche* having gone on, was a good argument that we should follow; but darkness and five miles more of intricate forest, through a path from which the slightest deviation, right or left, might lead us into the jaws of a tiger, or the trails of the equally savage Mair, decided us to halt. We now took another look at the group above-mentioned. Though the excitement of the morning was pretty well chilled by cold and hunger (poor sharpeners of the imagination), it was impossible to contemplate the scene before us without a feeling of the highest interest. From twenty-five to thirty tall figures, armed at all points, were sitting or reposing in groups round their watch-fires, conversing and passing the pipe from hand to hand, while their long black locks, and motley-fashioned turbans, told that they belonged to Maroodesa. A rude altar, raised in honour of some "gentle blood" shed by the murky mountaineer, served as a place of rest for the chief of the party, distinguished by the gold band in his turban, and his deer-skin doublet. I gave the usual salutation "Rama, Rama," to the chief and his party, and inquired after the health of their chieftain of Ganora, to whose courtesy I found I owed this mark of attention. This was the boundary between the two states of Marwar and Mewar, since the district of Godwar was lost by the latter about fifty years ago. The spot has been the scene of many a conflict, and a closer approach disclosed several other altars raised in honour of the slain; each represented a cavalier mounted on his war-steed, with his lance poised, denoting that in such attitude he fell in defending the pass, or redeeming the cattle from the plundering mountain Mair. A square tablet placed on each, contained the date on which he gained "the mansions of the sun." Midnight being past, and bringing no hope of our appetites growing by what they might feed upon, Dr. Duncan and Captain Waugh took the *jhool*, or broadcloth-housing, from the elephant, and rolling themselves in it, followed the example of the chieftain and reposed upon the ashes of the brave, on an

* The burr or banian tree, *ficus Indica*.

altar adjoining the one he occupied. I soon left them in happy forgetfulness of tigers, Meras, hunger and all the fatigues of the day, and joined the group to listen to the tale with which they enlivened the midnight hour. *This* I can repeat, but it would have required the pencil of a master to paint the scene. It was a subject for Salvator Rosa; though I should have been perfectly satisfied with one of Captain Waugh's delineations, had he been disposed at that moment to exert the pictorial art. Several of my friends had encountered the mountaineer on this very spot and these humble cenotaphs, covering the ashes of their kin, recalled events not likely to be repeated in these halcyon days, when the names of Bhil and Mair cease to be the synonyms for plunderer. As there may be no place more appropriate for a sketch of the mountaineers, the reader may transport himself to the glen of Komulmeer, and listen to the history of one of the aboriginal tribes of Rajasthan.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The Mairs or Meras: their history and manners.—The 'Barwattia' of Goculgurh.—Forms of Outlawry.—Ajeet Sing, the chief of Ganora.—Plains of Marwar.—Chief of Roopnagurh.—Anecdote respecting Daisoori.—Contrast between the Seesodias of Mewar and the Rahtores of Marwar.—Traditional history of the Rajpoots.—Ganora.—Kishendas, the Rana's envoy.—Local discrimination between Mewar and Marwar—ancient feuds—the aonla and the bawul.—Aspect of Marwar.—Nadole.—Superiority of the Chohan race.—Goga of Batinda.—Lakha of Ajmeer—his ancient fortress at Nadole.—Jain relic there.—The Hindu ancient arch or vault—inscriptions.—Antiquities at Nadole.—Eendurira—its villages.—Palli, a commercial mart—articles of commerce.—The bards and genealogists the chief carriers.—The "Hill of Virtue."—Khankani.—Affray between two Caravans.—Barbarous self-sacrifices of the Bhats.—Jhalamund.—March to Jodpur.—Reception en route by the chiefs of Pokurn and Neemaj—biography of these nobles—sacrifice of Soortan of Neemaj.—Encamp at the capital.—Negotiation for the ceremonies of reception at the court of Jodpur.

The *Mair* or *Mera* is the mountaineer of Rajpootana, and the country he inhabits is styled *Mairwarra*, or "the region of

hills." The epithet is therefore merely local, for the Mair is but a branch of the *Mena* or *Maina*, one of the aborigines of India. He is also called *Mairote* and *Mairawut*; but these terminations only more correctly define his character of mountaineer.* Mairwarra is that portion of the Aravali chain between Komulmeer and Ajmeer, a space of about ninety miles in length, and varying in breadth from six to twenty. The general character of this magnificent rampart, in the natural and physical geography of Rajpootana, is now sufficiently familiar. It rises from three to four thousand feet above the level of the sea, and abounds with a variety of natural productions. In short, I know no portion of the globe which would yield to the scientific traveller more abundant materials for observation than the Alpine Aravali. The architectural antiquary might fill his portfolio, and natural history would receive additions to her page in every department, and especially in botany and zoology.† I should know no higher gratification than to be of a scientific party to anatomize completely this important portion of India. I would commence on the Guzerat, and finish on the Shekhawut frontier. The party should consist of a skilful surveyor, to lay down on a large scale a topographical chart of the mountains; several gentlemen thoroughly versed in natural history; able architectural and landscape draughtsmen, and the antiquary to transcribe ancient inscriptions, as well as to depict the various races. The "*Aravali delineated*," by the hand of science, would form a most instructive and delightful work.

A minute account of the Mair, his habits and history, would be no unimportant feature: but as this must be deferred, I will, in the meanwhile, furnish some details to supply the void.

**Mera* is 'a mountain' in Sanskrit; *Mairawut* and *Mairote*, 'of or belonging to the mountain.' I have before remarked, that the name of the Albanian mountaineer, *Mainote*, has the same signification. I know not the etymology of *Maina*, of which the Mair is a branch.

† I had hoped to have embodied these subjects with, and thereby greatly to have increased the interest, of my work; but just as Lord Hastings had granted my request, that an individual eminently qualified for those pursuits should join me, a Higher Power deemed it fit to deny what had been long near my heart.

The individual, John Tod, was a cousin of my own, and possessed an intellect of the highest order. He was only twenty-two years of age when he died, and only been six months in India. He was an excellent classical scholar, well versed in modern languages and every branch of natural history. His manners, deportment, and appearance, were all in unison with these talents. Had it pleased the Almighty to have spared him, this work would have been more worthy of the public notice.

The Mairs are a branch of the Cheetas, an important division of the Menas. I shall elsewhere enter at large into the history of this race, which consists of as many branches as their conquerors, the Rajpoots. All these wild races have the vanity to mingle their pedigree with that of their conquerors, though in doing so they stigmatize themselves. The Cheeta-Menas accordingly claim descent from a grandson of the last Chohan emperor of Delhi. Unail and Anoop were the sons of Lakha, the nephew of the Chohan king. The coco-nut was sent from Jessulmeer, offering princesses of that house in marriage: but an investigation into their maternal ancestry disclosed that they were the issue of a Mena concubine: and their birth being thus revealed, they became exiles from Ajmeer, and associated with their maternal relatives.

Unail espoused the daughter of a Mena chieftain, by whom he had Cheeta, whose descendants enjoy almost a monopoly of power in Mairwarra. The sons of Cheeta, who occupied the northern frontier near Ajmeer, became Mahomedans about fifteen generations ago, when Doodoh, the sixteenth from the founder of the race, was created Dawad Khan by the Hakim of Ajmeer: and as Athoon was his residence, the "Khan of Athoon" signified the chief of the Mairotes. Chang, Jhak, and Rajosi, are the principal towns adjoining Athoon. Anoop also took a Mena wife, by whom he had Burrar, whose descendants have continued true to their original tenets. Their chief places are Burrar, Bairawara Mundilla, &c. Though the progeny of these Menas may have been improved by the infusion of Rajpoot blood, they were always notorious for their lawless habits, and for the importance attached to them so far back as the period of Beesildeo, the celebrated prince of Ajmeer whom the bard Chund states to have reduced them to submission, making them "carry water in the streets of Ajmeer." Like all mountaineers, they of course broke out whenever the hands of power were feeble. In the battle between the Chohans of Ajmeer and the Purihars of Mundore, a body of four thousand Mair bowmen served Nahur Rao, and defended the pass of the Aravali against Prithwi-raj in this his first essay in arms. Chund thus describes them:* "Where hill joins hill, the Mair and Mena thronged. The Mundore chief commanded that the pass should be defended—four thousand heard and obeyed, each

* I cannot discover by what part of the range the invasion of Mundore was attempted; it might have been the pass we are now in, for it is evident it was not from the frontier of Ajmeer.

in form as the angel of death—men who never move without the omen, whose arrow never flies in vain—with frames like Indra's bolt—faithful to their word, preservers of the land and the honour* of Mundore; whose fortresses have to this day remained unconquered—who bring the spoils of the plains to their dwellings. Of these in the dark recesses of the mountains four thousand lay concealed, their crescent-formed arrows besides them. Like the envenomed serpent, they wait in silence the advance of the foe.

"Tidings reached the Chohan that the manly Mena, with bow in hand, stood in the mountain's gorge. Who would be bold enough to force it? His rage was like the hungry lion's when he views his prey. He called the brave Kana, and bade him observe those wretches as he commanded him to clear the pass. Bowing he departed, firm as the rock on which he trod. He advanced but the mountaineer (Mair) was immovable as Soomair. Their arrows carrying death, fly like Indra's bolts—they obscure the sun. Warriors fall from their steeds, resounding in their armour as a tree torn up by the blast. Kana quits the steed; hand to hand he encounters the foe; the feathery shafts, as they strike fire, appear like birds escaping from the flames. The lance flies through the breast appearing at the back, like a fish escaping through the meshes of a net. The evil spirits dance in the mire of blood. The hero of the mountain † encountered Kana, and his blow made him reel; but like lightning it was returned, and the mountaineer fell: the crash was as the shaking of Soomair. At this moment Nahur arrived, roaring like a tiger of his prey: he called aloud to revenge their chief, his brother,‡ and fresh vigour was infused into their souls. On the fall of the mountain-chief, the Chohan commanded the 'hymn of triumph'§ to be sounded; it startled the mountaineer, but only to nerve his soul afresh. In person the Chohan sought his foe. The son of Somesa is a bridegroom. His streaming standards flutter like the first falls of rain in Asar, and as he steps on the bounds which separate Mundore from Ajmeer, 'victory! victory!' is proclaimed. Still the battle rages. Elephants roar, horses neigh, terror stalks everywhere. The aids of Girnar and of Sinde now appeared for Mundore, bearing banners of every colour, varied as the flowers of the spring. Both arrays were clad in mail; their eyes and their finger-nails

* *Laj* is properly 'shame,' which word is always used in lieu of honour: *laj rekho*, 'preserve my shame,' *i. e.*, my honour from shame.

† Purvut Vira.

‡ The Purihar prince bestowed this epithet merely in compliment.

§ Sindoo *Raga*.

alone were exposed; each invoked his tutelary protector as he wielded the *dodhara.** Prithwiraj was refulgent as Indra; the Purihar's brightness was as the morning star; each was clad in armour of proof, immovable as gods in mortal form. The sword of the Chohan descended on the steed of the Purihar; but as he fell, Nahur sprung erect, and they again darted on each other, their warriors forming a fortress around the persons of their lords. Then advanced the standards of the Pramar, like a black rolling cloud, while the lightnings flashed from his sword. Mohuna, the brother of Mundore, received him; they first examined each other—then joining in the strife, the helm of the Pramar was cleft in twain. Now advanced Chaond, the Dahima; he grasped his iron lance,†—it pierced the Purihar, and the head appeared like a serpent looking through the door in his back. The flame *(jote)* united with the fire from which it sprung, while the body fell on its parent earth. By his devotion the sins of his life were forgiven. Nobly did the tiger (Nahur) of Mundore meet the lion of the world. He called aloud, 'hold your ground as did Bul Raja of old.' Again the battle rages—Doorga gluts herself with blood—the air resounds with the clash of arms and the rattling of banners—the Aswar‡ rains on the foe—Khetrpal sports in the field of blood—Mahadeva fills his necklace—the eagle gluts itself on the slain—the mien of the warriors expands as does the lotus at the sun-beam—the war song resounds—with a branch of the toolsi on the helm, adorned in the saffron robe, the warriors on either side salute each other." The bard here exclaims, "but why should I enlarge on this encounter?"—but as this digression is merely for breathing time, we shall not follow him, the object being to introduce the mountain Mair, whom we now see *hors de combat.*

Admitting the exaggeration of the poet, the Mair appears to have been in the twelfth century what he is in the nineteenth, a bold, licentious marauder. He maintained himself throughout the whole of the Mogul domination, alternately succumbing and depredating; and since the Mahrattas crippled these countries, the Mair had regained all his consequence, and was rapidly encroaching upon his Rajput suzerain. But when in 1821 their excesses made it imperative to reduce their holds and fastnesses, they made no stand against the

* With two (do) edges (dhara).

† Sang is the iron lance, either wholly of iron, or having plates for about ten feet; these weapons are much used in combats from camels in the Desert.

‡ 'Sword'—*Aswar* in the dialect.

three battalions of sepoys sent against them, and the whole tract was compelled to obedience; not however, till many of the descendants of Cheeta and Burrar had suffered both in person and property. The facility with which we reduced to entire subjection this extensive association of plunderers, for centuries the terror of these countries, occasioned no little astonishment to our allies. The resistance was indeed contemptible, and afforded a good argument against the prowess of those who had tolerated the existence of a gang at once so mischievous and weak. But this was leaping to a conclusion without looking beneath the surface, or to the moral and political revolution which enervated the arms of Mair and Mahratta, Pindarri and Pathan. All rose to power from the common occupation of plunderers, aided by the national jealousies of the Rajpoots. If the chieftains of Mewar leagued to assault the mountaineers, they found refuge and support in Marwar; and as their fortresses at all times presented a sanctuary, their Rawuts or leaders obtained consequence amongst all parties by granting it. Every Mair community, accordingly, had a perfect understanding with the chieftain whose lands were contiguous to their own, and who enjoyed rights granted by the Rana over these nominal subjects. These rights were all of a feudal nature, as *rekwali* or 'black mail,' and those petty proofs of subordination, entitled in the feudal law of Europe "*petit serjanterie.*" The token might be a colt, a hawk, or a bullock, and a *nuzzerana*, or pecuniary acknowledgment, perhaps only of half a crown on the chieftain's birth-day, or on the Rajpoot Saturnalia, the *Holi*. But all these petty causes for assimilation between the Rajpoot and the lawless Mair were overlooked, as well as the more powerful one which rendered his arms of no avail. Every door was hermetically sealed against him; wherever he looked he saw a foe—the magical change bewildered him; and when their Khan and his adherent were assailed while in fancied security, and cut off in a midnight attack, his self-confidence was annihilated—he saw a red-coat in every glen and called aloud for mercy.

A corps of these mountaineers, commanded by English officers, has since been formed, and, I have no doubt, may become useful. Notwithstanding their lawless habits, they did not neglect agriculture and embanking, as described in the valley of Shero Nulla, and a district has been formed in Mairwarra which in time may yield a lac of rupees annually to the state.

Some of their customs are so curious, and so different from those of their low-land neighbours, that we may mention a few. Leaving their superstitions as regards omens and auguries,

the most singular part of their habits, till we give a detailed sketch of the Menas hereafter, I will notice the peculiarity of their notions towards females. The Mair, following the customary law handed down from his rude ancestry, and existing long before the written law of Manu, has no objection to a widow as a wife. This contract is termed *natha*, and his civilized master levies a fine or fee of a rupee and a quarter for the licence, termed *kagli*. On such marriage, the bridegroom must omit in the *mor*, or nuptial coronet, the graceful palmyra leaf, and substitute a small branch of the sacred peepul wreathed in his turban. Many of the forms are according to the common Hindu ritual. The *sat-pheera*, or seven parambulations round the jars filled with grain, piled over each other—the *gat-joora*, or uniting the garments—and the *hatleva*, or junction of hands of bride and bridegroom, are followed by the Mairs. Even the northern clans, who are converts to Islam, return to their ancient habits on this occasion, and have a Brahmin priest to officiate. I discovered, on inquiring into the habits of the Mairs, that they are not the only race which did not refuse to wed a widow, and that both Brahmins and Rajpoots have, from ancient times, been accustomed not to consider it derogatory. Of the former, the sacerdotal class, the Nagda Brahmins, established at this town long before the Gehlotes obtained power in Mewar. Of the Rajpoots, they are all of the most ancient tribes, now the allodial vassals or bhomias of Rajpootana, as the Chinanoh, Kharwar, Ootain, Dya, names better known in the mystic page of the chronicle than now, though occasionally met with in the valleys of the Aravali. But this practice, so little known, gives rise to an opinion, that many of the scrupulous habits regarding women are the inventions of the priests of more modern days. The facilities for separation are equally simple. If tempers do not assimilate, or other causes prompt them to part, the husband tears a shred from his turban, which he gives to his wife, and with this simple bill of divorce, placing two jars filled with water on her head, she takes whatever path she pleases, and the first man who chooses to ease her of her load becomes her future lord. This mode of divorce is practised not only amongst all the Menas, but by Jars, Goojars, Aheers, Mallis, and other Soodra tribes. *Jehur le or nikela* 'took the jar and went forth,' is a common saying amongst the mountaineers of Mairwarra.

Their invocations and imprecations are peculiar. The Cheeta or northern Mair, since he became acquainted with the name of the prophet, swears by "*Allah*," or by his first proselyte ancestor, "*Dooda Dawad Khan*," or the still more ancient head of the races "*Cheeta, Burrar ca an.*" The southern Mairs

also use the latter oath: "by my allegiance to Cheeta and Burrar;" and they likewise swear by the sun, "*Sooraj ca Sogun*," and "*Nath ca Sogun*;" or their ascetic priest, called the *Nath*. The Mahommedan Mair will not now eat hog; the southern refuses nothing, though he respects the cow from the prejudices of those around him, and to please the *Nath* or *jogi*, his spiritual guide. The partridge and the *maloli*, or wag-tail, are the chief birds of omen with him, and the former 'clamouring' on the left, when he commences a foray, is a certain presage of success. To conclude; colonies of the Mairs or Meras will be found as far north as the Chumbul, and even in the peninsula of Saurashtra. Mairwarra is now in subjection to the Rana of Mewar, who has erected small forts amidst the most influential communities to overawe them. The whole tract has been assessed; the chiefs of the districts being brought to the Rana's presence presented *nuzzerana*, swore fidelity, and received according to their rank gold bracelets or turbans. It was an era in the annals of Mewar to see the accumulated arms of Mairwarra piled upon the terrace of the palace at the capital; but these measures were subsequent to our sojourn in the glen of Komulmeer, from which we have yet to issue to gain Marwar.

Oct. 2. All hailed the return of day-light with reverence. Captain Waugh and the Doctor uncoiled from the elephant's *jhool*, and I issued from my *palki*, which had proved a welcome retreat against the chills of the night-air. By thirst and hunger our appetite for the picturesque was considerably abated, and the contemplation of the spot where we had bivouaced in that philosophical spirit of silence, which all have experienced who have made a long march before breakfast, lost much of its romantic interest. Nevertheless, could I have consulted merely my own wishes, I would have allowed my friends, and escort to follow the canteen, and have pursued an intricate path which branched off to the right, to have had the chance of an interview with the outlaw of Goculgurh.

This petty chieftain, who enjoyed the distinctive epithet of outlaw (*barwattia*), was of the Sonigurra clan (a branch of the Chohans), who for centuries were the lords of Jhalore. He was a vassal of Marwar, now sovereign of Jhalore, and being expelled for his turbulence by his prince, he had taken post in the old ruined castle of Goculgurh, on a cliff of the Aravali, and had become the terror of the country. By his knowledge of the intricacies of the mountains, he eluded pursuit; and his misdeeds being not only connived at, but his spoils participated by the chief of Deogurh, in whose fief was his haunt, he was under no apprehension of surprise. Inability either to seize the Barwattia, or drive him from his retreat, formed a legitimate excuse

for the resumption of Goculgurh, and the dues of 'black-mail' he derived from its twelve dependent villages. The last act of the Sonigurra was most flagrant; he intercepted in the plains of Godwar a marriage procession, and made captives the bride-groom and bride, whom he conveyed to Goculgurh, where they long languished for want of ransom. A party was formed to lay in wait for him: but he escaped the snare, and his retreat was found empty. Such was the state of society in these districts. The form of outlawry is singular in this country, where the penal laws are satisfied with banishment, even in cases of treason, instead of sanguinary law of civilization. The criminal against whom the sentence of exile is pronounced being called into his prince's presence, is clad in black vestments, and placed upon a black steed, his arms and shield all of the same sombre hue of mourning and disgrace; he is then left to gain the frontier by himself. This custom is very ancient: the Pandu brothers were "Barwattias"* from the Jumna three thousand years ago. The Jessulmeer annals relate the solemnity as practised towards one of their own prince; and the author, in the domestic dissensions of Kotah, received a letter from the prince, wherein he demands either that his rights should be conceded or that the government would bestow the "black garment," and leave him to his fate.

Conversing on these and similar subjects with my Marwarri friends, we threaded our way for five miles through the jungles of the pass, which we had nearly cleared, when we encountered the chieftain of Ganora at the head of his retinue, who of his own accord, and from a feeling of respect to his ancient sovereign, the Rana, advanced thus far to do me honour. I felt the compliment infinitely the more, as it displayed that spirit of loyalty peculiar to the Rajpoot, though the step was dangerous with his jealous sovereign, and ultimately was prejudicial to him. After dismounting and embracing, we continued to ride to the tents, conversing on the past history of the province, of his prince, and the Rana, after whom he affectionately inquired. Ajeet Sing is a noble-looking man, about thirty years of age, tall, fair, and sat his horse like a brave Rahtore cavalier. Ganora is the chief town of Godwar, with the exception of the commercial Palli, and the garrison-post Daisoori. From this important district the Rana could command four thousand Rahtores holding lands on the tenure of service, of whom the Ganora chief, then one of the sixteen nobles of Mewar, was the head.

* This term is compound of *bar* and *wuttuna*, literally *'ex patria'*.

Notwithstanding the course of events had transferred the province, and consequently his services, from the Rana of Oodipur to the Raja of Jodpur, so difficult is it to eradicate old feelings of loyalty and attachment, that the present Thacoor preferred having the sword of investiture bound on him by his ancient and yet nominal suzerain, rather than by his actual sovereign. For this undisguised mark of feeling, Ganora was denuded of its walls, which were levelled to the ground; a perpetual memento of disgrace and an incentive to vengeance: and whenever the day arrives that the Rana's herald may salute him with the old motto "Remember Komulmeer," he will not be deaf to the call. To defend this post was the peculiar duty of his house, and often have his ancestors bled in maintaining it against the Mogul. Even now, such is the inveteracy with which the Rajpoot clings to his honours, that whenever the Ganora chief, or any of his near kin, attend the Rana's court, he is saluted at the porte, or at the *champ de Mars*, by a silver Mace-bearer from the Rana, with the ancient war-cry, "remember Komulmeer," and he still receives on all occasions of rejoicing a khelat from that prince. He has to boast of being of the Rana's blood, and is by courtesy called "the nephew of Mewar." The Thacoor politely invited me to visit him; but I was aware that compliance would have involved him in difficulties with his jealous prince, and made excuses of fatigue, and the necessity of marching next morning, the motives of which he could not misunderstand.

Our march this morning was but short, and the last two miles were in the plains of Marwar, with merely an occasional rock. Carey joined us, congratulating himself on the ducking which had secured him better fare than we had enjoyed in the pass of Komulmeer, and which fastened both on Waugh and myself violent colds. The atmospheric change was most trying: emerging from the cold breezes of the mountains to 96° of Fahrenheit, the effect was most injurious: it was 58° in the morning of our descent into the glen. Alas! for my surviving barometer! Mohes, my amanuensis, who had been entrusted with it, joined us next day, and told me the quicksilver had contrived to escape; so I lost the opportunity of comparing the level of the desert with the plains of Marwar.

Oct. 27th. Halted to collect the scattered baggage, and to give the men rest; the day was nearly over before the whole came up, each party bringing lamentable reports of the disastrous descent. I received a visit from the chief of Roopnagurh, who, like the Thacoor of Ganora, owes a divided allegiance to the courts on each side the mountains. His

castle, which gives him rank as one of the most conspicuous of the second grade of the Rana's nobles, was visible from the camp, being placed on the western face of the mountains, and commanding a difficult passage across them. From thence he looks down upon Daisoori and his ancient patrimony, now transferred with Godwar to the Rahtore prince; and often has he measured his lance with the present occupants to retain his ancient *bhom*, the right derived from the cultivating proprietor of the soil. The chief of Roopnagurh is of the Solanki race, a lineal descendant of the sovereigns of Nehrwalla, and the inheritor of the war-shell of the celebrated monarch Sidraj,* one of the most powerful who ever sat on an eastern throne, and who occupied that of Anhulwara from A. D. 1094, during half a century, celebrated as a patron of literature and the arts. When in the thirteenth century this state was destroyed, the branches found refuge, as already described, in Mewar; for the ancestor of Roopnagurh was brother to the father of "the star of Bednore," and was invested with the estate and lands of Daisoori by the same gallant prince who obtained her hand by the recovery of her father's estates. The anecdote is worthy of relation, as shewing that the Rajpoot will stop at nothing "to obtain land." The intestine feuds amongst Rana Raemull's sons, and his constant warfare with the kings of Delhi and Malwa, made his authority very uncertain in Godwar. The Mena and Mair possessed themselves of lands in the plains, and were supported by the Madraicha descendant of the once independent Chohan sovereigns of Nedole, the ancient capital of this region. Sand, the Madraicha, had obtained possession of Daisoori, the garrison-town. To expel him, the prince had recourse to Sadda, the Solanki, whose son was married to the daughter of the Madraicha. The bribe for the reward of this treachery was to be the grant in perpetuity of Daisoori and its lands. Sadda's son readily entered into the scheme; and to afford facilities for its execution he went with his wife to reside at Daisoori. It was long before an opportunity offered; but at length the marriage of the young Madraicha to the daughter of Sugra the Balecho was communicated to the Solanki by his son; who told his father "to watch the smoke ascending from the tower of Daisoori," as the signal for the attempt to get possession. Anxiously did Sand watch from his castle of Sodgurh the preconcerted sign, and when the volume of black smoke ascended, he rushed down from the Aravali at the head of his retainers. The mother-in-law of the young

* He ruled from A. D. 1094 to 1144.

Solanki sent to know why he should make a smoke as if he were burning a corpse, when her son must be returning with his bride. Soon she heard the clash of arms; the Solankis had entered and fired the town, and the bridal party appeared before success was attained. Spears and swords were plied. "Were the bull!" (*sandh*) said the Madraicha, as he encountered his foe. "My name is the lion (*singh*) who will devour the bull," replied the Solanki. The contest was fierce, but the Madraichas were slain, and in the morn Prithwiraj was put in possession of Daisoori. He drew out a grant upon the spot, inserting in it a curse against any of Seesodia blood who might break the bond which had restored the Rahtore authority in Godwar. Although seventeen generations have passed since this event, the feud has continued between the descendants of the lion of Sodgurh and the bull of Daisoori, though the object of dissention is alienated from both.

I could well have dispensed with visits this day, the thermometer being 96°; I was besides devoured with inflammatory cold; but there was no declining another polite visit of the chieftain of Ganora. His retinue afforded a good opportunity of contrasting the Seesodia Rajpoot of fertile Mewar with the Rahtores of Marwar, and which, on the whole, would have been favourable to the latter, if we confined our view to those of the valley of Oodipur, or the mountainous region of its southern limit, where climate and situation are decidedly unfavourable. There the Rajpoot may be said not only to deteriorate in muscular form and strength, but in that fairness of complexion which distinguishes him from the lower orders of Hindus. But the danger of generalizing on such matters will be apparent, when it is known that there is a cause continually operating to check and diminish the deteriorating principle arising from the climate and situation (or, as the Rajpoot would say, from the *howa pani*, 'air and water') of these unhealthy tracts; namely, the continued influx of the purest blood from every region in Rajpootana: and the stream, which would become corrupt if only flowing from the commingling of the Chondawuts of Saloombra and the Jhalas of Gogoonda (both mountainous districts), is refreshed by that of the Rahtores of Godwar, the Chohans of Haravati, or the Bhatti of the desert. I speak from conviction, the chieftains above-mentioned affording proofs of the evil resulting from such repeated intermarriages; for, to use their own adage, "a raven will produce a raven." But though the personal appearance of the chieftain of Gogoonda might exclude him from the table of the sixteen barons of Mewar, his son by a Rahtore mother may be exhibited as a redeeming specimen of the Jhalas, and one in every way favour-

able of the Rajpoot of Mewar. On such occasion, also, as a formal visit, both chieftain and retainers appear under every advantage of dress and decoration; for even the form of the turban may improve the contour of the face, though the Mairteas of Ganora have nothing so decidedly peculiar in this way as those of other clans.

After some discourse on the history of past days, with which, like every respectable Rajpoot, I found him perfectly conversant, the Ganora chief took his leave with some courteous and friendly expressions. It is after such a conversation that the mind disposed to reflection will do justice to the intelligence of these people: I do not say this with reference to the baron of Ganora, but taking them generally. If by history we mean the relation of events in succession, with an account of the leading incidents connecting them, then are all the Rajpoots versed in this science; for nothing is more common than to hear them detail their immediate ancestry or that of their prince for many generations, with the events which have marked their societies. It is immaterial whether he derives this knowledge from the chronicle, the chronicler, or both: it not only rescues him from the charge of ignorance, but suggests a comparison between him and those who constitute themselves judges of nationalities by no means unfavourable to the Rajpoot.

Oct. 28th. Marched at day-break. The Thacoor sent a confidential vassal to accompany me through his domain. We could now look around us, as we receded from the alpine Aravali, with nothing to obstruct the vision, over the fertile plains of Godwar. We passed near Ganora, whose isolated portals, without tower or curtain to connect them, have a most humiliating appearance. It is to Raja Bheem, some twenty years ago, that their chieftains owe this degradation, in order to lessen their ability to recover the province for its ancient master, the Rana. It was, indeed, one of the gems of his crown as it is the only dazzling one in that of Marwar. While we marched over its rich and beautiful plains, well watered, well wooded, and abounding in fine towns, I entered into conversation with the Rana's envoy, who joined me on the march. Kishendas has already been mentioned as one of the few men of integrity and wisdom who had been spared to be useful to his country. He was a mine of ancient lore, and his years, his situation, and his character, gave force to his sentiments of determined independence. He was as quick as touchwood, which propensity occasionally created a wordy war between me and my friend, who knew my respect for him. "Restore us Godwar," was his

abrupt salutation as he joined me on the march: to which, being a little vexed, as the point could not be agitated by our government, I said in reply, "why did you let them take it?—where has the Seesodia sword slept this half century?" Adding "God Almighty never intended that the region on this side the mountains should belong to Mewar;—nature's own hand has placed the limit between you." The old envoy's blood was roused as he exclaimed, "Even on this principle, Godwar is ours, for nature has marked our limit by stronger features than mountains.—Observe, as you advance, and you will find to the further limit of the province every shrub and flower common to Mewar; pass that limit but a few yards, and they are lost:

Aonla, aonla Mewar:
Bawul, bawul Marwar.

"Wherever the aonla puts forth its yellow blossoms, the land is of right ours; we want nothing more. Let them enjoy their stunted babools,* their khureel, and the ak; but give us back our sacred peepul, and the aonla of the border." In truth, the transition is beyond credence marked: cross but a shallow brook, and you leave all that is magnificent in vegetation; the peepul, burr, and that species of the *mimosa* resembling the cypress, peculiar to Godwar are exchanged for the prickly shrubs, as the wild caper jowas, and many others, more useful than ornamental, on which the camel browzes. The argument was, however, more ingenious than just, and the old envoy was here substituting the effect for the cause; but he shall explain in his own words why Flora should be permitted to mark the line of demarcation instead of the rock-enthroned (*Doorga*) Cybele. The legend, now repeated is historical, and the leading incidents of it have already been touched upon; I shall, therefore, condense the Pancholi's description into a summary analysis of the cause why the couplet of the bard should be deemed "confirmation strong," of the bounds of kingdoms. These traditionary couplets, handed down from generation to generation, are the most powerful evidence of the past, and they are accordingly employed to illustrate the *kheatas*, or annals, of Rajpootana. When, towards the conclusion of the fourteenth century, the founder of the Chondawuts repaid the meditated treachery of Rinmull of Mundore by his death, he took possession of that capital and the entire country of the Rahtores (then but of small extent), which he held for several years. The heir of Mundore became a fugitive, concealing himself in the fastnesses of the Aravali, with little hope that his name (Joda) would become a patronymic, and that he would be

* *Mimosa Arabica.*

honoured as the second founder of his country: that Mundore itself should be lost in Jodpur. The recollection of the feud was almost extinct; the young Rana of Cheetore had passed the years of Rajpoot minority, and Joda continued a fugitive in the wilds of Bhanduc-perab, with but a few horse in his train, indebted to the resources of some independents of the desert for the means of subsistence. He was discovered in this retreat by a Charun or bard, who, without aspiring to prophetic powers, revealed to him that the intercession of the queen-mother of Cheetore had determined the Rana to restore him to Mundore. Whether the sister of Joda, to give *eclat* to the restoration, wished it to have the appearance of a conquest, or whether Joda, impatient for possession, took advantage of circumstances to make his entrance one of triumph, and thereby redeem the disgrace of a long and humiliating exile, it is difficult to decide; for while the annals of Mewar make the restoration an act of grace, those of Marwar give it all the colours of a triumph. Were the point worthy of discussion, we should say both accounts were correct. The Rana had transmitted the recall of Chonda from Mundore, but concealed from him the motive, and while Joda even held in his possession the Rana's letter of restoration, a concatenation of circumstances, in which "*the omen*" was predominant, occurred to make him anticipate his induction by a measure more consonant to the Rajpoot, a brilliant *coup de main*. Joda had left his retreat in the *Roon** to make known to Hurba Sankla, Pabooji, and other *rievers* of the desert, the changes which the bard had communicated. While he was there, intelligence was brought that Chonda, in obedience to his sovereign's command, had proceeded to Cheetore. That same night "the bard of omen perchedon Joda's lance, and the star which irradiated his birth shone bright upon it". The bard of Mundore revealed the secret of heaven to Joda, and the heroes in his train "Ere that star descends in the west, your pennon will wave on the battlements of Mundore." Unless, however, this "vision of glory" was merely mental, Joda's star must have been visible in day-light; for they could never have marched from the banks of the Looni, where the Sankla resided, to Mundore, between its rising and setting. The elder son of Chonda had accompanied his father, and they had proceeded two coss in their journey, when a sudden blaze appeared in Mundore: Chonda pursued his route, while his son Manja returned to Mundore. Joda was already in possession; his *an* had been proclaimed, and the two other sons

* An *alp*, or spot in these mountainous regions, where springs, pasture and other natural conveniences exist.

of Chonda had fallen in its defence. Manja, who fled, was overtaken and slain on the border. These tidings reached Chonda at the pass of the Aravali; he instantly returned to Mundore, where he was met by Joda, who showed him the letters of surrender for Mundore, and a command that he should fix with him the future boundary of each state. Chonda thought that there was no surer line of demarcation than that chalked out by the hand of nature; and he accordingly fixed that wherever the "yellow blossom" was found, the land should belong to his sovereign, and the bard was not slow in perpetuating the decree. Such is the origin of

"Aonla, aonla Mewar."
"Bawul, bawul Marwar."

The brave and loyal founder of the Chondawuts, who thus sacrificed his revenge to his sovereign's commands, had his feelings in some degree propitiated by this arrangement, which secured the entire province of Godwar to his prince; his son, Manja, fell, as he touched the region of the aonlas, and this cession may have been in '*moondkati*,' the compromise of the price of blood. By such traditional legends, not less true than strange, and to which the rock sculptures taken from Mundore bear evidence, even to the heroes who aided Joda in his enterprize, the *aonla* of the Rajpoots has been immortalized, like the humble *broom* of the French, whose *planta-geneta* has distinguished the loftiest name in chivalry, the proudest race emblazoned on the page of heraldry.

Notwithstanding the crops had been gathered, this tract contrasted favourably with Mewar, although amidst a comparative prosperity we could observe the traces of rapine; and numerous stories were rehearsed of the miseries inflicted on the people by the rapacious followers of Ameer Khan. We crossed numerous small streams flowing from the Aravali, all proceeding to join the "Salt River," or Looni. The villages were large and more populous; yet was there a dulness, a want of that hilarity which pervaded the peasantry of Mewar, in spite of their misfortunes. The Rajpoots partook of the feeling, the cause of which a little better acquaintance with their head-quarters soon revealed. Mewar had passed through the period of reaction, which in Marwar was about to display itself, and was left unfortunately to its own control, or with only the impulse of a long-suppressed feeling of revenge in the bosom of its prince, and the wiles of a miscreant minister, who wished to keep him in durance, and the country in degradation.

It creates a refreshing sensation to find the camp pitched in a cool and shaded spot; and at Nadole we had this satis-

faction. Here again there was no time for recreation for there was abundant, nay, overwhelming matter both for the pen and the pencil; but my readers must be satisfied with the imperfect delineations of the first. Nadole is still a place of some consequence, though, but for its temples, we should not have supposed it to have been the capital of a province. With its neighbour, Nadolaye, five miles to the westward, it was the abode of a branch of the Chohans of Ajmeer, established at a very early period. From Nadole, sprung the Deoras of Sirohi, and the Sonigurras of Jhalore. The former still maintain their ground, in spite of all attempts of the Rahtores; but the Sonigurra, who was immortalized by his struggle against the second Alla, is blotted from the list of independent states; and this valuable domain, consisting of three hundred and sixty towns, is now incorporated with Jodpur.

There is no spot in Rajpootana that does not contain some record of the illustrious Chohan; and though every race has had its career of glory, the sublimity of which, the annals of the Seesodias before the reader sufficiently attest, yet with all my partiality for those with whom I long resided, and with whose history I am best acquainted, my sense of justice compels me to assign the palm of martial intrepidity to the Chohan over all the "royal races" of India. Even the bards, to whatever family they belong, appear to articulate the very name as if imbued with some peculiar energy, and dwell on its terminating nasal with peculiar complacency. Although they had always ranked high in the list of chivalry, yet the seal of the order was stamped on all who have the name of Chohan, since the days of Prithwiraj the model of every Rajpoot, and who had a long line of fame to maintain. Of the many names familiar to the bard is Goga of Batinda who with forty-seven sons "drank of the stream of the sword" on the banks of the Sutledge, in opposing Mahmoud. This conqueror proceeded through the desert to the attack of Ajmeer, the chief abode of this race, where his arms were disgraced, the invader wounded, and forced to relinquish his enterprize. In his route to Nehrwalla and Somnath he passed Nadole,* whose prince hesitated not to measure his sword even with Mahmoud. I was fortunate enough to obtain an inscription regarding this prince, the celebrated Lakha, said to be the founder of this branch from Ajmeer, of which it was a fief—its date S. 1039 (A. D. 983.) The fortress attributed to Lakha is on the declivity of a low ridge to the westward of the town, with square towers of ancient form, and built of a very curious

* Ferishta, or his copyist, by a false arrangement of the points has lost Nadole in Buzule, using the *b* for the *n* and the *z* for the *d*.

conglomerate of granite and gneiss, of which the rock on which it stands is composed. There was a second inscription, dated S. 1024 (A. D. 968), which made him the contemporary of the Rana's ancestor, Sacti Khomar of Aetpur, a city also destroyed, more probably by the father of Mahmoud. The Chohan bards speak in very lofty terms of Rao Lakha, who "collected transit dues from the further gate of Anhulwarra, and levied tribute from the prince of Cheetore."

It is impossible to do full justice to the achitectural remains, which are well worthy of the pencil. Here every thing shews that the Jain faith was once predominant, and that their arts, like their religion, were of a character quite distinct from those of Siva. The temple of Mahavira, the last of their twenty-four apostles, is a very fine piece of architecture. Its vaulted roof is a perfect model of the most ancient style of dome in the East; probably invented anterior to the Roman. The principle is, no doubt, the same as the first substitute of the arch, and is that which marked the genius of Cæsar in his bridge over the Rhone, and which appears over every mountain-torrent of the ancient Helvetii, from whom he may have borrowed it. The principle is that of a horizontal instead of a radiating pressure. At Nadole, the stones are placed by a gradual projection one over the other, the apex being closed by a circular key-stone. The angles of all these projections being rounded off, the spectator looking up, can only describe the vault as a series of gradually diminishing amulets or rings covering to the apex. The effect is very pleasing, though it furnishes a strong argument that the Hindus first became acquainted with the perfect arch through their conquerors. The *torun*, in front of the altar of Mahavira, is exquisitely sculptured, as well as several statues of marble, discovered about one hundred and fifty years ago in the bed of the river, when it changed its course. It is not unlikely that they were buried during Mahmoud's invasion. But the most singular structure of Nadole is a reservoir, called the *chunna ca bowlee*, from the cost of it being paid by the returns of a single grain of pulse (*chunna*). The excavation is immense; the descent is by a flight of grey granite steps, and the sides are built up from the same materials by piling blocks upon blocks of enormous magnitude, without the least cement.

My acquisitions here were considerable. Besides copies of inscriptions made by my Sanscrit scribes, I obtained two originals on brass. Of one of these, dated S. 1218, the memorial of Allandeva, I append a translation,* which may be con-

* See Appendix, No. 7.

sidered curious as a formula of endowment of the Jains. I likewise procured several isolated MS. leaves of very great value, relative to the thirty-six royal races, to the ancient geography of India, and to the founding of ancient cities; also a catalogue of longevity of plants and animals, and an extract from a work concerning the descendants of Srenica and Sumpriti, the potent princes of the Jain faith between Mahavira and Vicrama. However meagre these fragments may be, I have incorporated their contents into my mosaic. I also made valuable addition to my collection of medals, for I obtained coins of Mahmoud, Bulbun, and Alla, surnamed *Khooni*, or 'the sanguinary'; and another of a conqueror equally meriting that title, Nadir Shah. But these were of little consequence compared with what one of my envoys brought from Nadolaye,—a small bag full of curious hieroglyphical (if I may so use the term) medals of the Chohan princes.* One side represents a warrior on horseback, compounded out of a character to which I have applied the above term; on some there was a bull; while others, retaining the original reverse, have on the obverse the titles of the first Islamite conquerors, in the same manner as the currency of France bears the effigies of Louis XVI. and the emblems of the Republic. Whoever will pay a visit to Nadole, will find his labour amply rewarded; I had only leisure to glean a few of these relics, which yet formed a rich harvest. Nadolaye, Balli, Daisoori, Sadri, all ancient seats of the Jain, will yield medals, MSS., and rare specimens of the architectural art. From Aboo to Mundore, the antiquary might fill many portfolios, and collect matter for volumes of the ancient history of this people, for this is the cradle of their faith. That I was enabled to obtain so much during a rapid march through the country, arose partly from previous knowledge, partly from the extent of my means, for I had flying detachments to the right and left of my route, consisting of intelligent natives of each city, accompanied by pundits for decyphering, and others for collecting whatever was the object of research; who, at the close of each day, brought me the fruits of their inquiries. When any remarkable discovery was made, I followed it up in person, or by sending those in whom I could confide. This is not mentioned from a spirit of egotism, but to incite others to the pursuit by shewing the rewards which await such research.

October 29th.—Camp at Eendurra, eleven miles. This small town, placed on the north bank of one of the nameless

* These will appear more appropriately in a disquisition on Hindu medals found by me in India, in the *Transactions* of the Royal Asiatic Society.

feeders of the 'salt river,' is the boundary of Godwar; here the reign of the yellow aonla terminates, and here commences *Maroost'hulli*, or 'the region of death.' The transition is great. We can look back upon fertility, and forward on aridity, which does not, however, imply sterility: for that cunning artist, nature, compensates the want of verdure and foliage to the inhabitants of the desert, by many spontaneous bounties. An entire race of cucurbitaceous plant is the eleemosynary equivalent for the mangoe and exotics of the central lands of Rajpootana; while indigenous poverty sends forth her commercial sons from Osi, Palli, and Pokurn, to bring wealth from the Ganges and the Kistna, to the Looni, or to the still more remote oasis, Jessulmeer. From Eendurra every thing assumed a new character; the sand, of which we had before scarcely a sprinkling, became occasionally heavy; the shallow beds of the numerous streams were white with saline incrustations; and the vegetable creation had been gradually diminishing, from the giant race of the sacred fig-tree with leaf "broad as Amazonian targe," to the dwarfish shrubs of the desert. At once the satiric stanza of the bard to a more favoured region was brought to my mind, and as I repeated it to my old friend the Rana's envoy, he enjoyed the confession, and afresh urged his wish that nature should decide the question of their boundaries:

Ak ra jhopra,
Phok ra bar,
Bajra ra rooty,
Mot'h ra dal,
Dekho ho Raja, teri Marwar
'Huts of the ak,
Barriers of thorns,
Bread of maize,
Lentils of the vetch,
Behold Raja, your Marwar!'

The villages are of a construction totally distinct from anything we have seen, and more approaching the wigwam of the western world. Every commune is surrounded with a circumvallation of thorns, *kantu ka kote*, and the stacks of *bhoos*, or 'chaff' which are placed at intervals, give it the appearance of a respectable fortification. These *bhoos* stacks are erected to provide provender for the cattle in scanty rainy seasons, when the parched earth denies grass, or full crops of maize. They are erected to the height of twenty or thirty feet, coated with a cement of earth and cow-dung, and with a sprinkling of thorns, to prevent the fowls of the air from reposing in them. In this manner with a little fresh coating, they will exist ten years, being only resorted to on emergencies, when

the kine may be said to devour the village walls. Their appearance is a great relief to the monotony of a march through the desert; which, however, cannot strictly be said to commence till you cross the Looni.

October 30th.—A long march of twenty-one miles, in which there was little to record, brought us to Palli, the great commercial mart of western Rajwarra. Like everything else in these regions, it bore the marks of rapine; and as in the civil wars of this state its possession was of great importance to either party, the fortifications were raised at the desire of the inhabitants, who did not admire the noise of war within their gates. From the same feeling, when it was proposed to gird the sister mart, Bhilwarra, with walls, the opposition to it was universal. The remnants of the walls lend it an air of desolation. The town is overrated at ten thousand houses. As an emporium its reputation is of ancient date: and, politically, it is connected with the establishment of the reigning family in these regions. A community of Brahmins then held Palli in grant from the princes of Mundore: whence comes a numerous class, termed Palliwal, who follow mercantile pursuits. It was in S. 1212 (A. D. 1156) that Seoji, the founder of the Rahtore dynasty and son to the emperor of Canouj, passed Palli on his return from a pilgrimage from Dwaricka to the Ganges. The Brahmins sent a deputation to relieve them from two great enemies to their repose, namely, the Menas of the Aravali, and the lions, which had become very numerous. Seoji relieved them from both; but the opportunity "to acquire land" was too good to be lost, and on the festival of the *Holi* he put the leading Brahmins to death, and took possession of Palli.

Commerce, in these regions, is the basis of liberty; even despotism is compelled to leave it unrestrained. Palli, like Bhilwarra, Jhalrapattan, Rinnie, and other marts, enjoys the right of electing its own magistrates, both for its municipal regulations, and the arbitration of all matters connected with commercial pursuits. It was commerce which freed Europe from the bondage of feudality; and the towns above cited only require the same happy geographical position, to play the part of the Hanse towns of Europe. Like Bhilwarra, Palli has its own currency, which, amidst universal deterioration, it has retained undebased. From remote times, Palli has been the connecting link between the sea-coast and northern India. Commercial houses, established at Muscat-Mandavi, Surat, and Noanuggur, transmit the products of Persia, Arabia, Africa, and Europe, receiving those of India and Thibet. To enumerate all the articles, it would be necessary to name the

various products of each: from the coast, elephant's teeth, rhinocero's hides, copper, tin, pewter, dates dried and moist,* of which there is an immense consumption in these regions; gum-arabic, borax, cocoa-nuts, broad-cloths, striped silks, called *putung*; various dyes, particularly the *kermes* or crimson; drugs, especially the oxides of arsenic and quick-silver; spices, sandal-wood, camphor, tea, *mummaye* or mummy,† which is much sought after in medicine, and green glass *(kanch)*. From Bhawulpur, soda *(saji)*, the dyes called *al* and *munjeet*, match-locks, dried fruits, assafœtida, Mooltan chintzes, and wood for household furniture. From Kotah and Malwa, opium and chintzes. From Jeypur, various cloths and sugars. From Bhooj, swords and horses.

The exports of home production are the two staple articles of salt and woollens; to which we may add coarse cotton cloths, and paper made in the town of Palli. The *looes*, or blankets, are disseminated throughout India, and may be had at from four to sixty rupees per pair; scarfs and turbans are made of the same material, but not for exportation. But salt is the chief article of export, and the duties arising therefrom equal half the land revenue of the country. Of the *aggurs*, or 'salt lakes,' Punchbuddra, Filodi, and Deedwana, are the principal, the first being several miles in circuit.

The commercial duties of Palli yielded 75,000 rupees annually, a large sum in a poor country like Marwar.

The Charuns and Bhats, or *bards* and *genealogists* are the chief carriers of these regions: their sacred character overawes the lawless Rajpoot chief; and even the savage Koli and Bhil, and the plundering Sahrae of the desert, dread the anathema of these singular races, who conduct the caravans through the wildest and most desolate regions. The traveller avails himself of such convoy who desires to proceed to the coast by Jalore, Beenmahl, Sanchore, and Radhunpur whence he may pursue his route to Surat, or Muscat-Mandavi.

To the east of Palli about ten miles, there is an isolated hill, called *Poonagir*, 'the hill of virtue,' which is crowned with a small temple, said to have been conveyed by a Budhist magician from Palithana in Saurashtra. Wherever this ancient and numerous sect exists, magical skill is always asserted. Here

* The *kharik* and *pind khejoor*.

† *Mom* in the language of Egypt signifies 'wax,' says some ancient authority: so it is the usual name of that article in Persian. *Mommy* is probably thence derived. I remember playing trick on old Seeloo, our *khuburdar* at Sindhia's camp, who had been solicited to obtain a piece of *mummaye* for a chieftain's wife. As we are supposed to possess every thing valuable in the healing art, he would take no refusal; so I substituted a piece of India rubber.

we found our old friend, Gough, who had been rambling to the south-west amongst Sahraes, Kossas, and all the wild beings of these uncivilized tracts, in search of new breeds of horses. Halted to enjoy his society.

Pally, 29th.

Kharira, 30th.

Rohit, 31st.

Nov. 1st.—Khankani, on the north bank of the Looni. There was nothing to arrest attention between Palli and the Looni: all is flat and lonely in the thirty miles which intervene. Our halts were at Kharira, which has two small salt lakes, whence its name; in fact, this superabundant product, *khar* or salt, gives its name to streams and towns. Both Kharira and Rohit, the intermediate places of halt, are feudal estates, and both chiefs had been involved in the recent civil dissentions: Rohit was under the ban.

Here I had an exemplification of the vulgar adage, "two of a trade," &c. Paimah Naik, the leader of one of the largest *tandas*, or caravans, which frequent the desert for salt, had left his convoy, and with his brethren came to exhibit his wounds and fractures received in a fray with the leaders of another caravan. Both were Bhats; Paimah was the head of the Bhamunia Bhats, so called from the place of their abode, and he counted forty thousand beasts of burthen under his control. Shama had no distinctive epithet: he had no home separate from his *tanda*. His little state when not in motion was on the highways; hence those who dwell entirely with their cattle are styled *ooboh punti*, 'on the road.' Shama had taken advantage of the greater portion of Paimah's caravan being detached, to revenge an ancient feud; and had shewn himself quite an adept in club-law, as the broken heads of his opponents disclosed. To reconcile them was impossible; and as the case was to be decided, not by the scales of abstract justice but by calculating which contributed most in duties, Paimah by this summary process, more than from sympathy to his wounded honour, gained a victory by the exclusion of his rival. As before observed, these classes take advantage of their sacred character amongst the Rajpoots, to become the general carriers of the country: but the advantage which might result to the state from the respect paid to them is neutralized by their avarice, and constant evasion of the payment of all established duties. A memorable example of this kind occurred during the reign of Umra the First, with the ancestor of this same Paimah. The Rana would not submit to the insolent demands of the Bhats, when they had recourse to one of the

most sanguinary sacrifices ever recorded—the threat alone of which is generally sufficient to extort acquiescence and concession. But the firmness of Umra has been recorded; and he braved them. Collecting the elder portion of their community, men, women, and youths of both sexes, they made a sacrifice to the number of eighty souls with their daggers in the court of the palace. The blood of the victims was on the Rana's head. It was a species of excommunication, which would have unsettled a weaker reason; for the Rajpoot might repose after the murder of a Brahmin, but that of the prophetic *Vates* would rise against him here and hereafter. For once they encountered a mind too strong to be shaken; Umra banished the whole fraternity of Bhamunia Bhats from his dominions, and the town of Bhamuni reverted to the fisc. The edict remained uncancelled until these days, when amongst the industrious of all classes whom the proclamations brought once more to Mewar, came Paimah and his brethren. Although tradition had preserved the causes of their exile, it had made no alteration in their sentiments and opinions, and the dagger was always at hand, to be sheathed in their own flesh whenever provocation called it from the girdle. Paimah beset the Rana in all his rides, demanding a reduction, or rather abolition of duties for his *tanda*; and at length he took up a position on the terrace fronting the 'balcony of the sun,' threatening a '*chandi*,' for such is the term applied to this suicidal revenge. The Rana, who had not the nerve of his ancestor, sent to me to beseech my interferance: with his messenger, one from me returned to invite the Bhats to a settlement. They came as fine, robust, intrepid a set as I ever saw. We soon came to issue: I urged that duties must be paid by all who chose to frequent the passes of Mewar, and that they would get nothing by their present silly mode of endeavouring to obtain remission; that if they would give a written agreement to abide by the scale of duties laid down, they should receive exemption for five hundred out of the forty thousand bullocks of their *tanda*, and be reinducted into Bhamuni, if not, there were daggers (shewing them some on the table), and they might begin as soon as they pleased. I added, that, in addition to Rana Umra's penalty of banishment, I would recommend confiscation of their entire caravan. Paimah was no fool: he accepted Bhamuni, and the *maufi* for five hundred, and that day received his gold bracelets and clothes of investiture for Bhamuni from the Rana.

Nov. 2. Jhalamund, ten miles. Although within one march of Jodpur, we were obliged to make an intermediate halt, in order to arrange the ceremonials of reception; a grave

matter with all the magnates of the East, who regulate all such affairs by slavish precedent and ancestral wisdom. On such a novel occasion as the reception of an English envoy at this desert court, they were a good deal puzzled how to act. They could very well comprehend how an ambassador direct from majesty should be received and were not unfamiliar with the formula to be observed towards a vice-regal legation. But the present case was an anomaly: the governor of all India, of course, could appear only as the first servant of a commercial body, which, with whatever privileges invested, never could be made to rank with royalty or its immediate emanation. Accordingly, this always proved a clog to our diplomatic missions, until the diffusion of our power from the Indus to the ocean set speculation at rest on the formalities of reception of the Company's ambassadors. On the other hand, the eternal rotation of military adventurers enjoying ephemeral power, such as the commanders of the myrmidons of Sindhia and Holkar, compelled all the Rajpoot princes to forego much of their dignity; and men like Ameer Khan, Jean Baptiste, or Bapoo Sindhia, who but a short time ago would have deemed themselves honoured with a seat in the antichamber, claimed equality of reception with princes. Each made it a subject for boasting, how far he had honoured himself by the humiliation of the descendant of the emperor of Canouj, or the scion of Rama. At the same time, as the world is always deceived by externals, it was difficult to concede a reception less distinguished than that granted to the leader of a Mahratta horde; and here their darling precedent was available. To what distance did the Raja send the *istikbal* to meet Ameer Khan? what was the rank of the chieftains so deputed? and to what point did the "offspring of the sun" condescend to advance in person to receive this "lord of the period?" All these, and many similar questions, were propounded through the Vakeel, who had long been with me, to his sovereign, to whose presence he proceeded in order that they might be adjusted, while I halted at Jhalamund, only five miles from the capital. However, individually, we may despise these matters, we have no option, as public servants, but to demand the full measure of honour for those we represent. As the present would also regulate future receptions, I was compelled to urge that the Raja would best consult his own dignity by attending to that of the government I represented, and distinctly signified, that it could never be tolerated that he should descend to the very foot of his castle to honour Ameer Khan, and await the English envoy almost on the threshold of his palace. It ended, as such matters generally do in those countries, by a compromise: it was stipulated

that the Raja should receive the mission in his *palkee* or litter, at the central barrier of descent. * These preliminaries being arranged, we left Jhalamund in the afternoon, that we might not derange the habits of slumber of those who were to conduct us to the capital. About half way we were met by the great feudatory chieftains of Pokurna and Nemaj, then lords of the ascendant, and the joint advisers of their sovereign. We dismounted, embraced, complimented each other in the customary phraseology; then remounted, and rode together until we reached the tents, where after I had requested them to be the bearers of my homage to their sovereign, we mutually saluted and parted.

Salim Sing † was the name of the lord of Pokurna, the most wealthy and the most powerful of all the baronies of Marwar. His castle and estate (wrested from Jessulmeer) are in the very heart of the desert; the former is strong both by position and art. It is a family which has often shaken the foundation of the throne of Marwar. During four generations have its bold and turbulent chiefs made the most resolute of these monarchs tremble. Deo Sing, the great grandfather of the present chief, used to sleep in the hall of the royal palace, with five hundred of his Kompawuts, of which clan he is the chief. "The throne of Marwar is within the sheath of my dagger," was the boast, as elsewhere mentioned, of this haughty noble to his sovereign. His son, Subal Sing, followed his father's steps, and even dethroned the great Bijay Sing: a cannon-shot relieved the prince from this terror of his reign. Sowaie Sing, his son and successor, acted the same part towards Raja Bheem, and was involved in the civil wars which commenced in 1806, when he set up the pretender, Dhonkul Sing. The catastrophe of Nagore, in which Meer Khan acted the assassin of the Kompawut and all his associates, relieved Raja Maun from the evil genius of his house; and the honours this prince heaped on the son of the Kompawut, in giving him the first office in the state, were but a trap to ensnare him. From this he escaped, or his life and the honours of Pokurna would have been lost together. Such is a rapid sketch of the family of the chief who was deputed to meet me. He was about thirty-five years of age; his appearance, though not prepossessing, was dignified and

* Mr. Wilder, the superintendent of Ajmeer, was deputed by General Sir D. Ochterlony, in Dec. 1818, to the court of Jodpur and was very courteously received by the Raja.

† The sibilant is the *Shibboleth* of the Rajpoot of Western India, and will always detect him. The 'lion' (*sing*) of Pokurna is degraded into 'assa-fœtida' (*hing*); as *Halim Hing*.

commanding. In person he was tall, but more powerful than athletic; his features were good, but his complexion was darker than in general amongst the chieftains of Marwar.

His companion, and associate in the councils of his prince, was in every point of personal appearance the reverse of this portrait. Soortan Sing was chief of the Oodawuts, a clan which can muster four thousand swords, all residing on the lands skirting the Aravali; and of which his residence Neemaj, Raepur, and Chundawut, are the principal fiefs. Soortan was a fine specimen of the Rajpoot; his figure tall and graceful; his complexion fair; his deportment manly and mild; in short, he was a thorough gentleman, in appearance, understanding, and manners.

It would be impossible to relate here all the causes which involved him in the catastrophe from which his co-adjutor escaped. It was the misfortune of Soortan to have been associated with Salim Sing; but his past services to his prince amply counterbalanced this party bias. It was he who prevented his sovereign from sheathing a dagger in his heart on the disgraceful day at Purbutsir; and he was one of the four chieftains of all Marwar who adhered to his fortunes when beset by the united force of Rajpootana. He was also one of the same four who redeemed the spoils of their country from the hands of the multitudinous array which assaulted Jodhpur in 1806, and whose fate carried mourning into every house of Rajasthan. The death of Soortan Sing was a prodigal sacrifice, and caused as sensation of universal sorrow, in which I unfeignedly participated. His gallant bearing was the theme of universal admiration; nor can I give a better or a juster idea of the chivalrous Rajpoot, than by inserting a literal translation of the letter conveying the account of his death, about eight months after my visit to Jodhpur.

"Jodhpur, 2d Asar, or 28th June 1820. "On the last day of Jait (the 26th June), an hour before daybreak, the Raja sent the *Alligoles*,* and all the quotas of the chiefs, to the number of eight thousand men, to attack Soortan Sing. They blockaded his dwelling in the city, upon which, for *three watches*, they kept up a constant fire of great guns and small arms. Soortan, with his brother Soor Sing, and his kindred and clan, after a gallant defence, at length sallied forth, attacked the foreigners sword in hand, and drove them back. But who can oppose their prince with success? The odds were too great, and both brothers fell nobly. Nagoji and forty of the bravest of the clan fell with the *Thakoor* brothers, and

* The mercenary Rohilla battalions, who are like the Wallons and independent companies which formed the first regular armies of Europe.

forty were severely wounded. Eighty, who remained, made good their retreat with their arms to Neemaj.* Of the Raja's troops, forty were killed on the spot, and one hundred were wounded. Twenty of the town's folk suffered in the fray.

"The Pokurna chief, hearing this, saddled; but the Maharaja sent Seonat Sing of Kochamun, the chief of Bhadrajoon, and others, to give him confidence, and induce him to stay; but he is most anxious to get way. My nephew and fifteen of my followers were slain on this occasion. The Neemaj chief fell as became a Rahtore. The world exclaims applause:' and both Hindu and Toork say he met his death nobly. Seonat Sing, Buktawar Sing, Roop Sing, and Anar Sing,† performed the funeral rites."

Such is the Rajpoot when the point of honour is at stake! Not a man of his clan would have surrendered, while their chief lived to claim their lives; and those who retreated only preserved them for the support of the young lord of the Oodawuts!

* Which thy afterwards nobly defended during many months.

† This last, a brave and excellent man, was the writer of this letter. He, who had sacrificed all to save his prince, and, as he told me himself, supported him, when proscribed by his predecessor, by the sale of all his property, even to his wife's jewels, yet became an exile, to save his life from an overwhelming proscription. To the anomalous state of our alliances with these states is to be ascribed many of these mischiefs.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Jodhpur: town and caste.—Reception by the Raja.—Person and character of Raja Maun Sing.—Visits to the Raja.—Events in his history.—Death of the Raja Bheem.—Deonath, the high-priest of Marwar.—His assassination.—The acts which succeeded it.—Intrigues against the Raja.—Dhunkul Sing, a pretender to the Gadi.—Real or affected derangement of the Raja.—Associates his son in the government.—Recalled to the direction of affairs.—His deep and artful policy.—Visit to Mundore, the ancient capital.—Cenotaphs of the Rahtores.—Cyclopean architecture of Mundore.—Nail-headed characters.—The walls.—Remain of the palace.—Town, or triumphal arch.—Than of Thana Peer.—Glen of Pushcoonda.—Statues carved from the rock.—Gardens at Mondore.—An ascetic.—Entertainment at the palace.—The Raja visits the Envoy.—Departure from Jodhpur.

The sand since we crossed the Looni, had become gradually heavier, and was quite fatiguing as we approached the capital of "the region of death;" but the Marwaries and the camels appeared to move through it as briskly as our men would on the plains of the Ganges. The view before the reader will give a more correct idea of the "city of Joda" than the most laboured description. The fort is erected on a mole projecting from a low range of hills, so as to be almost isolated, while, being higher than the surrounding objects, it is not commanded. This table-ridge (mountain we can scarcely term it, since its most elevated portion is not more than three hundred feet in height) is a curious feature in these regions of uninterrupted aridity. It is about twenty-five miles in length, and, as far as I could determine from a bird's-eye view and from report, between two and three in breadth, the capital being placed on the highest part at the southern extremity, and may be said to be detached from it. The northern point, which is the highest, and on which the palace is built, is less than three hundred feet. Everywhere it is scraped, but especially at this point, against which the batteries of the League were directed in 1806, at least a hundred and twenty feet of perpendicular height. Strong walls and numerous round and squire towers encircle the crest of the hill, encompassing a space of great extent, as may be judged from the dimensions of the base, said to be four miles in circuit. Seven barriers are thrown across the circuitous ascent, each having immense

portals and their separate guards. There are two small lakes under the walls: the *Rani Talab*, or 'Queen's Lake,' to the east; and the *Golab Sagur* or 'Rose-water sea,' to the south, from which the garrison draws up water in buckets. There is also inside a *coond*, or reservoir, about ninety feet in depth, excavated from the rock, which can be filled from these tanks; and there are likewise wells within, but the water is brakish. Within are many splendid edifices, and the Raja's residence is a succession of palaces, each prince since the founder having left memorials of architectural taste. The city to the eastward of the citadel is encompassed by a strong wall, three coss, or near six miles, in extent, on which a hundred and one bastions or towers are distributed; on the rampart are mounted several *paiklas* or swivels. There are seven gates to the capital, each bearing the name of the city to which it leads. The streets are very regular, and adorned with many handsome edifices of free-stone, of which the ridge is composed. The number of families, some years ago, were stated to be 20,000, probably 80,000, souls, an estimate far too great for the present day. The *Golab Sagur* is the favourite lounge of the inhabitants, who recreate amongst its gardens and, strange to say, the most incomparable pomegranites *(anar)* are produced in it, far superior even to those of Cabul, which they resemble in the peculiarity of being *be-dana*, 'without grain:' rather a misnomer for a fruit, the characteristic of which is its granulations: but this is in contradistinction to those of India, which are all grain and little pulp. The *anars* of the *Kagli-ca-bagh*, or 'Ravens' Garden,' are sent to the most remote parts, as presents. Their beautiful ruby tint affords an abundant resource for metaphor to the Rajpoot bard, who describes it as "sparkling in the ambrosial cup."*

On the 4th the Raja received us with due form, advancing beyond the second gate of descent; when, after salutations, greetings, he returned according to etiquette. Giving him time to make his arrangements, we advanced slowly through lines of his clansmen to the upper area, where a display of grandeur met our view for which we were totally unprepared, and far eclipsing the simple and unostentatious state of the Rana. Here every thing was imitative of the imperial court of Delhi, where the Rahtore, long pre-eminent, had "the right hand of the king of the world." Lines of gold and silver mace-bearers deafened us with the titles of "*Raj-Raj-Iswar!*" 'the king, the lord of kings!' into whose presence, through mazes of intricate courts filled with his chivalry, all hushed

* *Amrit ra pealu.*

into that mysterious silence which is invariably observed on such occasions, we were at length ushered.

The King of Maroo arose from his throne, and advanced a few paces, when he again courteously received the envoy and suite, who were here introduced. The hall of reception was of great extent: from its numerous square columns, it is styled *shehes stambha,* 'the thousand-columned hall.' They were more massive than elegant; and being placed in parallel rows, at not more than twelve feet from each other, they gave an air of cumbrous, if not clumsy grandeur to an immense apartment, the ceiling of which was very low. About the centre, in a niche or recess, the royal *gadi* or 'cushion' was placed, over which was raised a richly embroidered canopy, supported by silver-gilt columns. On the Rana's right hand were placed those whom the king honoured, the chieftains of Pokurna and Neemaj, who would have been less at their ease had they known that all the distinctions they then enjoyed were meshes to ensnare them. Several other chieftains and civil officers, whose names would but little interest the reader, were placed around. The Vakeel, Bishen Ram, was seated near me, almost in front of the Raja. The conversation was desultory and entirely complimentary: affording, however, abundant opportunity to the Raja to display his proficiency in that mixed language, the Hindoostanee, which he spoke with great fluency and much greater purity than those who resided about the court at Delhi. In person the Raja is above the common height, possessing considerable dignity of manner, though accompanied by the stiffness of habitual restraint. His demeanour was commanding and altogether princely; but there was an entire absence of that natural majesty and grace which distinguished the prince of Oodipur, who won without exertion our spontaneous homage. The features of Raja Maun are good: his eye is full of intelligence: and though the *ensemble* of his countenance almost denotes benevolence, yet there is ever and anon a doubtful expression, which, with a peculiarly formed forehead, gave a momentary cast of malignity to it. This might have been owing to that deep dissimulation, which had carried him through a trial of several years' captivity, during which he acted the maniac and the religious enthusiast, until the assumed became in some measure his natural character.

The biography of Maun Sing would afford a remarkable picture of human patience, fortitude, and constancy, never surpassed in any age or country. But in this school of adversity he also took lessons of cruelty; he learned therein to master or rather disguise his passions; and though he showed

not the ferocity of the tiger, he acquired the still more dangerous attribute of that animal—its cunning. At that very time not long after he had emerged from his seclusion, while his features were modelled into an expression of complaisant self-content, indicative of a disdain of human greatness, he was weaving his web of destruction for numberless victims who were basking in the sunshine of his favour. The fate of one of them has been already related.

The Rahtore, like many other dynasties not confined to the east, claims celestial descent. Of their Bhat, we may say what Gibbon does of the Belgic genealogist, who traced the illustrious house of Este from Romulus, that "he riots in all the lust of fiction, and spins from his own bowels a lineage of some thousand years." We are certain that there were sovereigns of Canouj in the fifth century, and it is very probable that they ruled there prior to the era of Christianity. But this is accounted nothing by these lovers of antiquity, who never stop short of *Swyambhuva*, and the ark in which the antediluvian records of the Rahtores may have been preserved with those of the De Coucys. But we will not revert to those "happy times, when a genealogical tree would strike its root into any soil, and the luxuriant plant could flourish and fructify without a seed of truth." Then, the ambition of the Rahtore for a solar pedigree could be gratified without difficulty.

But it requires neither Bhat nor bard to illustrate its nobility: a series of splendid deeds which time cannot obliterate, has emblazoned the Rahtore name on the historical tablet. Where all these races have gained a place in the temple of fame, it is almost invidious to select; but truth compels me to place the Rahtore with the Chohan, on the very pinnacle. The names of Chonda and Joda are sufficient to connect Seoji, the founder, a scion of Canouj, with his descendant, Raja Maun: the rest

> "Were long to tell; how many battles fought;
> "How many kings destroyed, and kingdoms won."

Let us, therefore, put forth our palm to receive the *uttur* from his august hand, and the *pan*, acknowledged by a profound *salaam*, and bringing the right hand to my cocked hat which etiquette requires we should "apply to the proper use:—'tis for the head," even in the presence. At all the native courts the head is covered, and the *en bas* left bare. It would be sadly indecorous to walk in soiled boots over their delicate carpets, covered with white linen, the general seat. The slippers are left at the door, and it is neither inconvenient nor degrading to sit in your socks. The Raja pre-

sented me with an elephant and horse caparisoned, an aigrette, necklace, brocades, and shawls, with a portion according to rank to the gentlemen who accompanied me.

On the 6th I paid the Raja another visit, to discuss the affairs of his government. From a protracted conversation of several hours, at which only a single confidential personal attendant of the prince was present, I received the most convincing proofs of his intelligence, and minute knowledge of the past history, not of his own country alone, but of India in general. He was remarkably well read; and at this and other visits he afforded me much instruction. He had copies made for me of the chief histories of his family, which are now deposited in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society. He entered deeply into the events of his personal history, and recounted many of the expedients he was obliged to have recourse to in order to save his life, when, in consequence of the murder of his *Guru* (not only his spiritual but his temporal guide, counsellor, and friend), he relinquished the reins of power, and acquiesced in their assumption by his son. The whole transaction is still involved in mystery, which the Raja alone can unravel. We must enter so far into the state secrets of the court, as to disclose the motive for such an act as the destruction of the brave Soortan, and introduce to the reader another high-priest of the Rajpoots as a pendant for the oracle, of the Apollo of Nathdwara.

The parricidal murder of Raja Ajeet has been the destruction of Marwar, and even "unto the third and fourth generation" Providence would seem to have visited the act with its vengeance. The crown, which in a few years more would have been transmitted by nature's law, was torn from the brow of this brave prince, who had redeemed his lost inheritance from Aurungzebe, by the unhallowed arm of his eldest son, Abhe Sing; instigated thereto by an imperial bribe of the vice-royalty of Guzerat. His brother, Bukht Sing, was made almost independent in Nagore by the concession of Abhe and the *sunnud* and titles of his sovereign; and the contests between their issue have moistened the sands of Marwar with the richest blood of her children. Such is the bane of feudal dominion—the parent of the noblest deeds and the deepest crimes.

Raja Maun, accordingly, came to the throne with all the advantages and disadvantages of such a state of things; and he was actually defending his existence in Jhalore against his cousin and sovereign, when an unexpected event released him from his perils, and placed him on the throne. Bheem Sing had destroyed almost every branch of the blood-royal, which

might have served as a nucleus for those intestine wars which desolated the country, and young Maun, the sole intervening obstacle to the full accomplishment of his wishes, was reduced to the last extremity, and on the eve of surrendering himself and Jhalore to this merciless tyrant, when he was relieved from his perilous situation. He attributed his escape to the intercession of the high-priest of Marwar, the spiritual leader of the Rahtores.* This hierarch bore the title of divinity, or *Nathji*: his prænomen of Deo or Deva, was almost a repetition of his title; and both together, *Deonath*, cannot be better rendered than by 'Lord God.' Whether the intercession of this exalted personage was purely of a moral nature, as asserted, or whether Raja Bheem was removed from this vain world to the heaven of Indra by means less miraculous than prayer, is a question on which various opinions are entertained; but all agree that nothing could have been better timed for young Maun, the sole victim required to fill up the measure of Bheem's sanguinary policy. When suicide was the sole alternative to avoid surrender to the fangs of this Herod of the Desert, the high-priest, assuming the mantle of prophecy, pronounced that no capitulation was inscribed in the book of fate—whose page revealed brighter days for young Maun. Such prophets are dangerous about the persons of princes, who seldom fail to find the means to prevent their oracles from being demented. A dose of poison, it is said, was deemed a necessary adjunct to render efficacious the prayers of the pontiff; and they conjointly extricated the young prince from a fate which was deemed inevitable, and placed him on the regal cushion of Marwar. The gratitude of Raja Maun had no limits—no honours, no grants, were sufficient to mark his sense of obligation. The royal mantle was hallowed by the tread of this sainted being; and the throne itself was exalted when Deonath condescended to share it with his master, who, while this proud priest muttered forth his mysterious benedictions, with folded hands stood before him to receive the consecrated garland. Lands in every district were conferred upon the Nath, until his estates, or rather those of the church of which he was the head, far exceeded in extent those of the proudest nobles of the land; his income amounting to a tenth of the revenues of the state. During the few years he held the keys of his master's conscience, which were conveniently employed to unlock the treasury, he erected no less than eighty-four *mandirs*, or places of worship, with monasteries adjoining them, for his well-fed, lazy *chelas* or disciples, who lived at free quarters on the labour of the idustrious. Deonath was a striking example of the identity of human nature,

under whatever garb and in whatever clime; whether under the cowl or the coronet, in the cold clime of Europe, or in the deserts of India. This Wolsey of Maroodes exercised his hourly-increasing power to the disgust and alienation of all but his infatuated prince. He leagued with the nominal minister, Induraj, and together they governed the prince and country. Such characters, when exceeding the sphere of their duties, expose religion to contempt. The degradation which the haughty grandees of Marwar experienced, made murder in their eyes a venial offence, provoked as they were by the humiliations they underwent through the influence of this arrogant priest, whose character may be given in the language of Gibbon, merely substituting Deonath of Marwar for Paul of Samosata: "His ecclesiastical jurisdiction was venal and rapacious; he extorted frequent contributions from the most opulent of the faithful, and converted to his own use a considerable part of the public revenue. His council chamber and his throne, the splendour with which he appeared in public, the suppliant crowd who solicited his attention and the perpetual hurry of business in which he was involved, were circumstances much better suited to the state of a civil magistrate, than to the humility of a primitive bishop." But his "full-blown pride" at length burst under him. Sequestrations from the estates of the chief barons of Maroo became frequent in order to swell his rent-roll for the support of his establishments; his retinue on ordinary occasions surpassed that of any chieftain, and not unfrequently he was attended by the whole insignia of the state—the prince attending on such ceremonies. On these occasions, the proud Rajpoot felt that he folded his hands, not to his sovereign, but to his sovereign's sovereign; to a vindictive and vain-glorious priest, who, amidst the mummeries and artifices of religious rites, gratified an inordinate vanity, while he mortified their pride and diminished their revenues. The hatred of such men is soon followed by their vengeance; and though they would not dye their own daggers in his blood, they soon found agents in a race who know not mercy, the myrmidons of that villain Meer Khan, under whose steel, and within the precincts of the palace, Deonath fell a victim. It has been surmised that Raja Maun was privy to the murder; that if he did not command, or even sanction it, he used no means to prevent it. There are but two in this life who can reveal this mystery—the Raja, and the *borreaa en chief* of Rajasthan, the aforesaid Ameer Khan.

The murder of the high-priest was but a prolongation of the drama, in which we have already represented the treacherous destruction of the chieftain of Pokurn and his kindred;

and the immolation of Krishna Kumari, the Helen of Rajasthan. The attack on the gallant Soortan, who coducted us from Jhalamund to the capital, sprung from the seed which was planted so many years back; nor was he the last sacrifice; victim after victim followed in quick succession, until the Caligula of the Desert, who could "smile and stab," had either slain or exiled all the first chieftains of his state. It would be a tedious tale to unravel all these intrigues; yet some of them must be told, in order to account for the ferocity of this man, now a subordinate ally of the British Government in the East.

It was in A.D. 1804* that Raja Maun exchanged the defence of Jhalore for the throne of Jodpur. His predecessor, Raja Bheem, left a widow pregnant; she concealed the circumstance, and when delivered, contrived to convey the child in a basket to Sowaie Sing of Pokurn. During two years he kept the secret: he at length convened the Marwar chieftains, with whose concurrence he communicated it to Raja Maun, demanding the cession of Nagore and its dependencies as a domain for this infant, named Dhonkul Sing, the heir-apparent of Marwar. The Raja promised compliance if the mother confirmed the truth of the statement. Whether her personal fears overcame her maternal affection, or the whole was an imposture of Pokurn, she disclaimed the child. The chiefs, though not satisfied, were compelled to appear contented with the result of this appeal; and for some years the matter seemed at rest. But this calm was only the presage of a storm, which shook to its base the political edifice of Marwar, and let loose upon her cities a torrent of predatory foes; it dethroned her prince, and, what the planner could not have contemplated, involved his own destruction. The effects of this treachery have for ever destroyed all confidence between the chief and the entire feudal interest. The Pokurn chief, after failing to establish the claims of Dhonkul Sing as pretender to the throne, sent him for safety to the Shekhawut, chief of Khetri, one of the independent nobles of the Jeypur family. Here he left him till an opportunity again arrived to bring him upon the scene, which was afforded by the contest between the princes of Marwar and Jeypur for the hand of the Rana's daughter. This rivalry, the effects of which are already related, and which brought into conflict all the northern powers of India, was, in fact, only the underplot of the deep-laid policy of Sowaie. When once the gauntlet was thrown down for the hand of this fair lady, the Pokurn chief

* The date of his accession is the 5th of the month Megsir, S. 1860.

stepped in with the pretended son of Raja Bheem, whose cause, from the unpopularity of Raja Maun, soon brought to his standard almost all the feudality of Marwar. The measures which followed, and the catastrophe, the death of Krishna Kumari, have already been related. The assassination of the chief of Pokurn was simultaneous with these events; and it was shortly after, that the murder of the Pontiff Deonath took place.

After being relieved from all external foes by his own strength of mind, and the aid of a few friends whom no reverse could estrange from him, Raja Maun either fell, or affected to fall, into a state of mental despondency bordering on insanity. Suspicious of every one, he would only eat from the hands of his wife, who prepared his food herself; he became sullen and morose; he neglected public business; and finally withdrew entirely from the world. The attempt to rouse him from this real or pretended stupor was fruitless; he did nothing but lament the death of Deonath, and pour forth prayers to the deity. In this state, he was easily induced to associate his son in the government, and he bestowed upon him with his own hand the *teeka* of command. Chutter Sing was the name of the prince, who was still in his minority; thoughtless, and of dissolute habits, he soon gave himself up to the guidance of a junta of the chiefs, who proclaimed Akhi Chund, of the mercantile caste, the chief civil minister of the state.

Such was the condition of Marwar from A.D. 1809 to 1817. At this period, the progress of events made the English arbiters of the destinies of Rajasthan. The regent of Marwar sent an ambassador to treat; but before the treaties were ratified and exchanged, the young regent was dead. Various causes were assigned for his death: by some his dissolute habits, occasioning premature decay; by others, with more probability, the dagger of an indignant Rajpoot, the honour of whose daughter he had clandestinely attempted. Upon this event, and the change of political circumstances, the chiefs had no alternative but to turn to the secluded prince. If but one-half is true that I have heard, and from authority of high credit, the occupations of the years which the Raja passed between the murder of the priest and the death of his son, might be deemed atonement for the deepest crimes. When messengers announced the fate of his son, and that state necessity recalled him to the helm of affairs, he appeared unable to comprehend them. He had so long acted the maniac, that he had nearly become one: his beard was never touched, and his hair, clotted and foul, gave him an expression

of idiotcy; yet throughout these long years he was resolutely tenacious of life. The party, who governed the son and his state, had their own menials to wait upon him, and many were the attempts to poison him by their means; in avoiding which, his simulated madness was so perfect, that they deemed he had "a charmed life." But he had one faithful servant, who throughout this dreadful trial never forsook him, and who carried him food in his turban to replace that which was suspected. When, by degrees, he was led to understand the emergency, and the necessity of leaving his prison, he persevered in his apparent indifference to everything earthly, until he gathered information and the means for a terrible reaction. The treaty with the English put the ball at his foot: he very soon perceived that he might command a force to put down disorder—such was even volunteered; but with admirable penetration he trusted to the impression of this knowledge amongst his chiefs, as a sufficient auxiliary. By disseminating it, he paralyzed that spirit which maintained rights in the soil of Marwar nearly concurrent with those of the sovereign. No higher compliment could be paid to British ascendency, than the sentiments of Raja Maun and his nobles; and no better illustration is on record of the opinion of our power, than that its name alone served the Raja's purpose in subjugating men, who, scarcely knowing fear, yet reposing partly on our justice, though mainly on the utter hopelessness of resisting us, were deprived of all moral courage.

In refusing the aid of a mere physical force, the Raja availed himself of another weapon; for by this artifice he threw the chiefs off their guard, who confided in his assumed desire to forget the past. Intrigues for power and patronage seemed to strengthen this confidence; and Salim Sing of Pokurna, the military *maire du palais* or Bhanjgurh, and Akhi Chund, retained as civil prime minister, were opposed by Jodraj Singwi, who headed the aspirants to supplant them. The Raja complained of their interested squabbles, but neither party dreamed that they were fostered by him to cloak his deep-laid schemes. Akhi Chund had been minister throughout the son's administration; the political and pecuniary transactions of the state were known chiefly to him; to cut him off would have been poor revenge, and Raja Maun was determined not only to extract from him all the knowledge of statematters transacted during his seclusion, but to make himself master of his coffers, and neither would have been attained by simple murder. Akhi Chund was not blind to the dangers of his position; he dreaded the *appui* his sovereign derived from the English, and laboured to inspire the Raja with distrust of their motives. It

suited his master's views to flatter this opinion; and the minister and his adherents were lulled into a fatal security.

Such were the schemes concocting, when I visited this court, which were revealed by succeeding events. At this time, the Raja appeared in a state of mental depression, involved in difficulties, cautious, fearful of a false step, and surrounded by the satellites of the miscreant Akhi Chund, who, if he could no longer incarcerate his person, endeavoured to seal up the mind of his prince from all communication with those who might stimulate him to exertion. But all his arts only served to entangle him in the web then weaving for his life. The Raja first made him the means of destroying the most powerful of his chieftains, Soortan being the primary sacrifice to his sanguinary proscription; many others followed, until the best of the feudal chieftains sought refuge from his fury in exile, and found the *sirna* (sanctuary) they sought in the surrounding states, the majority in Mewar. The day of vengeance at length arrived, and the minister and his partizans were transferred from their position at the helm of the state to a dungeon. Deceived with hopes of life, and compelled by the application of some summary methods of torture, Akhi Chund gave in a schedule of forty lacs of property, of which the Raja realized a large portion, and then dismissed him to the other world. Nagoji, the kelladar,* and Mulji Dandul, both favourites and advisers of the Raja's late son, returned on the strength of a general amnesty, and forgot they had been traitors. The wealth which prodigality had heaped upon them, consisting of many of the crown-jewels, being recovered, their worldly accounts were settled by a cup of poison, and their bodies thrown over the battlements. Success, and the taste of blood, whetted rather than appeased the appetite of Raja Maun. He was well seconded by the new minister, Futteh Raj, the deadly opponent of Akhi Chund, and all the clan of Champawuts, whom he deemed the authors of the murder of his brother, Induraj, slain at the same time with Deonath. Each day announced a numerous list of victims, either devoted to death, or imprisoned and stripped of their wealth. The enormous sum of a crore of rupees has been stated as the amount of the confiscations.

All these atrocities occurred within six months after my visit to this court, and about eighteen from the time it was received into protective alliance with the British Government. The anomalous condition of all our connections with the Rajpoot states has already been described: and if illustration

* Commandant of the fortress.

of those remarks be required, it is here in awful characters. We had tied up our own hands : "internal interference" had been renounced, and the sequestration of every merchant's property, who was connected with the Mehta faction, and the exile of the nobles, had no limit but the will of a blood-thirsty and vindictive tyrant. The objects of his persecution made known everywhere the unparalleled hardships of their case, and asserted, that nothing but respect for the British Government prevented their doing themselves justice. In no part of the past history of this state could such proscription of the majority of the kin and clan of the prince have taken place. The dread of our intervention, as an umpire favourable to their chief, deprived them of hope ; they knew that if we were exasperated there was no *sirna* to protect them. They had been more than twelve months in this afflicting condition when I left the country ; nor have I heard that any thing has been done to relieve them, or to adjust these intestine broils. It is abandoning them to that spirit of revenge which is a powerful ingredient in their nature, and held to be justifiable by any means when no other hope is left them. In all human probability, Raja Maun will end his days by the same expedient which secured him from the fury of his predecessor.

Having lifted the mantle which veiled the future, my reader must forget all that has been said to the disadvantage of Raja Maun, and see only the dignified, the courteous, and the well-instructed gentleman and prince. I cannot think that the Raja had coolly formed to himself the plan of the sanguinary measures he subsequently pursued, and which it would require a much more extended narrative to describe. We discoursed freely on past history, in which he was well read, as also in Persian, and his own native dialects. He presented me with no less than six metrical chronicles of his house : of two, each containing seven thousand stanzas, I made a rough translation. In return, I had transcribed and sent to him Ferishta's great History of the Mahommedan power in India ; and *Kholasut ul Towarikh*, a valuable epitome of the history of Hindoosthan. I little imagined that I should then have to exhibit him otherwise than his demeanour and instructive discourse made him appear to me. In our graver conversation, I was amused with a discourse on the rules of government, and instruction for the guidance of ambassadors, which my better acquaintance with Chund discovered to be derived from that writer. He carried me, accompanied by a single domestic, to various apartments in the palace, whence he directed my view across the vast plains of the desert, whose monarch I envied not. The low hills in the

vicinity alone broke the continuity of this arid region, in which a few isolated *neem* trees were thinly scattered, to remind one of the absence of all that is grand in vegetation. After a visit of several hours, I descended to my tent, and found my friends, Captain Waugh and Major Gough, just returned from a successful chase of an antelope, which, with the aid of some Rohilla greyhounds, they had run down. I attributed their success to the heavy sands, on which I have witnessed many pulled down by dogs of little speed; but the secret was revealed on this animal being sent to the *cuisinier*. On depriving him of his hide, between it and the flesh the whole carcase was covered with a large, inert, amorphus white maggot. The flesh was buried in the sands, and no venison appeared again on my table while in India.

Nov. 8th.—I set out early this morning to ramble amidst the ruins of the ancient capital, Mundore, an important link in the chain of archæological research, before the *panchranga*, or 'five-coloured banner' of Maroo was prostrated to the crescent. Attended by an escort provided by the Raja, I left the perambulator behind; but as the journey occupied an hour and a quarter, and at a very slow pace, the distance must be under five miles. I proceeded through the Sojut gate, to gain the road leading to Nagore; shortly after which I passed the Maha Mandir, or '*Grand Minister*;' the funds for the erection of which were provided by Raja Maun, on his escape from ruin at Jalore. I skirted the range, gradually decreasing in height for three miles, in a N. N. E. direction. We then altered our course to N. N. W., and entered the gorge of the mountains which envelop all that is hallowed of the relics of the princes of this house. The pass is narrow; the cliffs are almost perpendicular, in which are numerous caves, the abodes of ascetics. The remains of fortifications thrown across, to bar the entrance of the foe to the ancient capital of the Puriharas, are still visible: a small stream of pure and sweet water issues from this opening, and had a water-course under an archway. After proceeding a little further, the interval widened, and passing through the village, which does not exceed two hundred houses, our attention was attracted by a line of lofty temples, rising in graduated succession. These proud monuments proved to be the cenotaphs of the Rahtores, erected on the spots where the funeral pyre consumed the crowned heads of Maroo, who seldom burnt alone, but were accompanied by all that made life agreeable or poisoned its enjoyment. The small brook, already mentioned, flows past the southern extremity of the chief line of monuments, which extend from south to north. At the former

points stands that of Rao Maldeo, the gallant opponent of Shere Shah, the brave usurper of the throne of the Moguls. The further point terminates with that of Maharaja Ajeet Sing; while the princes in regular succession, *viz.*, Soor Sing, Oodi Sing, Guj Sing, and Jesswunt Sing, fill up the interval.

These dumb recorders of a nation's history attest the epochs of Marwar's glory, which commenced with Maldeo, and ended with the sons of Ajeet. The temple-monument of Maldeo, which yet throws into shade the still more simple shrines of Chonda, and Joda, contrasted with the magnificent mausoleum of Raja Ajeet, reads us a lesson on the advancement of luxurious pomp in this desert state. The progression is uniform, both in magnitude and elegance, from Maldeo's, who opposed on equal terms the Afghan king (whose memorable words, "I had nearly lost the throne of India for a handful of barley," mark at once the gallantry and the poverty of those whom he encountered), to the last great prince Ajeet. Even that of Raja Guj is plain, compared to his successor's. These monuments are all erected of a very close-grained freestone, of a dark brown or red tint, with sufficient hardness to allow the sculptor to indulge his fancy. The style of architecture, or rather the composition is mixed, partaking both of the Sivite and the Budhist; but the details are decidedly Jain, more especially the columns, which are of the same model as those in Komulmeer. I speak more especially of those of Rajas Jesswunt and Ajeet, drawings of which, on a large scale, executed by the Raja's chief architect, I brought to Europe; but which it would be too expensive to have engraved. They are raised on immense terraces, faced with large blocks of well-polished freestone. That of Jesswunt is somewhat ponderous and massive; but Ajeet's rises with great elegance and perfect symmetry of proportion.

On ascending the terrace, you enter through lofty vaulted porch supported by handsome columns to the *sanctum*, which is a pyramidal temple, four stories in height, in the Sivite style, crowned by the *sikra* and *kullus*, elsewhere described. The sculptural ornaments are worthy of admiration, both for their design and effect; and the numerous columns on the basement, and different stages of ascent, give an air of so much majesty, that one might deem these monuments more fitting sepulture for the Egyptian Cheops, than a shrine—over what? not even the ashes of the desert king, which were consigned in an urn to the bosom of the Ganges. If the foundations of these necrological monuments have been equally attended to with the superstructure, they bid fair to convey to remote posterity the recollection of as conspicuous

a knot of princely characters as ever followed each other in the annals of any age or country. Let us place them in juxtaposition with the worthies of Mewar and the illustrious scions of Timoor, and challenge the thrones of Europe to exhibit such a contemporaneous display of warriors, statesmen, or scholars.

Mewar.	Marwar.	Delhi.
Rana Sanga	Rao Maldeo.	Baber and Shere Shah.
[redacted]	Rao Soor Sing.....	Hemayoon.
Rana Pertap.....	Raja Oodi Sing.....	Akbar.
Rana Umra I... Rana Kurrun ...	Raja Guj Sing ...	Jehangir and Shah Jehan.
Rana Raj.....	Raja Jesswunt Sing...	Arungzebe.
Rana Jey Sing... Rana Umra II...	Rana Ajeet Sing..	All the competitors for the throne after Ferokshere.

From Maldeo to Oodi *le gros*, the first *Raja* (hitherto *Raos*) of Marwar, and the friend of Akbar, to Jesswunt, the implacable foe of Arungzebe, and Ajeet, who redeemed his country from oppression, all were valiant men and patriotic princes.

"Where were the lion's cubs," I asked of my conductor, "the brave sons of Ajeet, who erected this monument to his manes, and who added provinces to his dominions?" He pointed to two sheds, where the *kerea-carma* was performed; there was

"No funeral urn
"To mark their obsequies :"

but these lowly sheds told, in more forcible, more emphatic language, the cause of this abrupt transition from grandeur to humility, than pen ever wrote; and furnished the moral epilogue to the eventful drama of the lives of these kings of the desert. Abhe Sing's parricidal hand bereft his father of life; yet though his career was one splendid tissue of success and honour, leaving his dominions more than doubled, the contentions of his issue with that of his brother, Bukht Sing, alike accessory, it is said, to the crime, has entailed endless misery upon Marwar, and left them not the power, if they had the inclination, to house his ashes. In the same line with the

parricide and his brave brother, is the humble monument of the great Beejy Sing, whose life till towards its close was a continued tide of action. I could not avoid an exclamation of surprise: "Shame to the country," I said, "that has neglected to enshrine the ashes of a name equal to the proudest!" His three sons, amongst them Zalim Sing, with the sketch of whom this narrative opened, have their shrines close to his; and but a few yards removed are those of Raja Bheem, and his elder brother Gooman (who died in his minority), the father of the reigning prince, Raja Maun. The last, which closed the line, pertained to Chuttur Sing, who, in all probability, was saved by death from the murder of his parent. I passed it in disgust, asking who had been so foolish as to entomb his ashes better than those of some of the worthiest of his race? I found that it was the act of maternal fondness.

The *amavus* (the ides) and the *sancrantis* (when the sun enters a new sign of the Zodiac) of every month are sacred to the *Pitriswara*, on which days it is incumbent on the reigning prince to 'give water' to his ancestors. But the ignorance of my conductor deprived me of much information which I anticipated; and had I not been pretty well read in the chronicles of the Rahtores, I should have little enjoyed this visit to a "nation's dust." They related one fact, which was sufficient to inspire horror. No less than sixty-four females accompanied the shade of Ajeet to the mansion of the sun. But this is twenty short of the number who became *Satis* when Raja Boodh Sing of Boondi was drowned! The monuments of this noble family of the Haras are far more explicit than those of the Rahtores, for every such *Sati* is sculptured on a small altar in the centre of the cenotaph: which speaks in distinct language the all-powerful motive, *vanity*, the principal incentive to these tremendous sacrifices. Boodh Sing was a contemporary of Ajeet, and one of the most intrepid generals of Arungzebe; the period elapsed is about one hundred and twenty years. Mark the difference! When his descendants, my valued friend, the Rao Raja Bishen Sing, died in 1821, his last commands were that none should give such a proof of their affection. He made me guardian of his infant heir;—in a few days I was at Boondi, and his commands were religiously obeyed.

In this account are enumerated the monumental relics below the fort. Upon the mountain, and beyond the walls of the fortress of Mundore, are the *dewuls* of Rao Rinmull, Rao Ganga, and Chonda, who conquered Mundore from the Purihars. Within a hundred yards of this trio of worthies of this house, is a spot set apart for the queens who die natural deaths. But

this is anticipating; let me, in form, conduct my readers step by step from the cemetery of the Rahtores to the Cyclopean city of the Puriharas.

Whoever has seen Cortona, Volterra, or others of the ancient Tuscan cities, can form a correct idea of the walls of Mundore, which are precisely of the same ponderous character. It is singular that the ancient races of India, as well as Europe, (and whose name of *Pali* is the synonym of *Galati* or *Keltoe*) should, in equal ignorance of the mechanical arts, have piled up these stupendous monuments, which might well induce their posterity to imagine "there were giants in those days." This western region, in which I include nearly all Rajpootana and Saurashtra, has been the peculiar abode of these "pastor kings," who have left their names, their monuments, their religion and sacred character, as the best records of their supremacy. The *Raj-Pali*, or, 'Royal Pastors,' are enumerated as one of the thirty-six royal races of ancient days: the city of Palithana, 'the abode of the Pali,' in Saurashtra (built at the foot of Mount Satrunja, sacred to Budha), and Palli in Godwar, are at once evidence of their political consequence and the religion they brought with them; while the different nail-headed characters are claimed by their descendants, the sectarian Jains of the present day. There is scarcely an ancient city in Rajpootana whence I have not obtained copies of inscriptions from columns and rocks, or medals, gold, silver and copper bearing this antique character. All are memorials of these races, likewise termed *Takshac*, the Scythic conquerors of India, ancestors of many of the Rajpoots, whose history the antiquary will one day become better acquainted with. The Purihara, it will be recollected, is one of the four Agniculas: races who obtained a footing in India posterior to the Suryas and Indus. I omitted, however, to mention, in the sketch of the Puriharas that they claim Cashmeer as the country whence they migrated into India: the period is assigned, but it was when the schismatic wars between the Sivites and Budhists were carrying on; and it would appear that the former found proselytes and supporters in many of these Agniculas. But of the numerical extent of the followers of this faith we have this powerful evidence, namely, that three-fourths of the mercantile classes of these regions are the descendants of the martial conquerors of India, and that *seven out of the ten and a-half* nyats or tribes, with their innumerable branches, still profess the Jain faith, which, beyond controversy, was for ages paramount in this country.

Let us now ascend the paved causeway to this gigantic ruin, and leave the description of the serpentine *Nagda*,

which I threaded to its source in the glen of Pushcoonda, till our return. Half-way up the ascent is a noble *bowli*, or 'reservoir,' excavated from the solid rock, with a facing of cut stone and a noble flight of steps: on which, however, two enormous *goolurs* or wild fig-trees have taken root, and threaten it with premature destruction. This memorial bears the name of Nahur Rao, the last of the Puriharas. As I looked up to the stupendous walls,

"Where time hath leant his hand, but broke his scythe,"

I felt the full force of the sentiment of our heart-stricken Byron:

"there is a power
"And magic in the ruined battlement,
"For which the palace of the present hour
"Must yield its pomp, and wait till ages are its dower."

Ages have rolled away since these were raised, and ages will yet roll on, and find them immovable, unchanged. The immense blocks are piled upon, and closely fitted to each other without any cement, the characteristic of all the Etruscan cities termed Cyclopean. We might, indeed, smuggle a section of Mundore into the pages of Micali,* amongst those of Todi or Volterra, without fear of detection. The walls, following the direction of the crest of the ridge, are irregular; and having been constructed long before artillery was thought of, the Purihar or Pali engineer was satisfied with placing the palace on the most commanding eminence, about the centre of the fortress. The bastions or towers are singularly massive, and like all the most antique, their form is square. Having both fever and ague upon me, I was incapable of tracing the direction of the walls, so as to form any correct judgment of the space they enclose; but satisfied with gaining the summit, I surveyed the ruin from the site of the palace of the Puriharas. The remains, though scanty, are yet visible; but the materials have been used in the construction of the new capital Jodpur, and in the cenotaphs described. A small range of the domestic temples of the palace, and some of the apartments, are yet distinctly to be traced; the sculptured ornaments of their portals prove them to have been the work of a Takshac or Budhist architect. Symbolical figures are frequently seen carved on the large blocks of the walls, though probably intended merely as guides to the mason. These were chiefly Budhist or Jain: as the quatrefeuille, and the cross; though the mystic triangle, and triangle within a

* *L' Italie avant la Domination des Romaens.*

triangle * (a sign of the Sivites, only, I believe), was also to be seen. The chief memorials of the Purihara are a gateway and magnificent *Torun*, or triumphal arch, placed towards the south-east angle of the castle. It is one mass of sculpture; but the pencil was wanting, and I had not leisure even to bring away a rude resemblance of this memento of some victory of the ancient lords of Mundore. A little distance to the northward of my position is the *Than*, or 'station' of a Mahommedan saint, a disciple of a celebrated Khwaja Kootub, whose shrine at Ajmeer is celebrated. This of Thana Peer, as they call him, was a place of great resort to the unsanctified Kafirs, the mercenary Sindies and Afghans, who long prowled about these regions in quest of prey, or plunder, or both. Nearly in the same direction, beyond the walls, are the cenotaphs of the early Rahtores and the Satis already mentioned; but tradition's voice is mute as to the spot which contains the ashes of the Puriharas. To the east and north-east, nature has formed at once a barrier to this antique castle, and a place of recreation for its inhabitants; a lengthened chasm in the whole face, appearing like a dark line, were it not for the superb foliage of *goolur*, mangoe, and the sacred *burr* and *peepul*, which rise above the cleft, planted about the fountain and perpendicular cliffs of the Nagda, and which must have proved a luxurious retreat to the princes of Mundore from the reverberation of the sun's rays on the rock-built palace; for there is but a scanty brushwood scattered over the surface, which is otherwise destitute of all vegetation.

Let us now descend by the same causeway to the glen of Pushcoonda, where there is much to gratify both the lover of the picturesque and the architectural antiquary. At the foot of the causeway, terminated by a reservoir of good water, are two gateways, one conducting to the gardens and their palaces erected by the Rahtores; the other, to the statues of the Paladins of the desert. Leaving both for a moment, I pursued the 'serpentine' rivulet to its fountain, where

> "Couched among fallen columns, in the shade
> "Of ruined walls that had survived the names
> "Of those who reared them."

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* Amongst ancient coins and medals, excavated from the ruins of Oojein and other ancient cities, I possess a perfect series with all the symbolic emblems of the *twenty-four* Jain apostles. The compound equilateral triangle is amongst them: perhaps there were *Masons* in those days amongst the Pali. It is hardly necessary to state, that this Trinitarian symbol (the double triangle) occurs on our (so called) Gothic edifices, *e. g.* the beautiful abbey-gate of Bury St. Edmonds, Suffolk, erected about A. D. 1377.

I reposed in meditative indolence, overwhelmed with the recollections such scenes inspire. In a recess or cave is a rude altar sanctified by the name of Nahur Rao, the famed king of Mundore, who met in equal combat the chivalrous Chohan in the pass of the Aravali. A *nye*, or barber, performs worship to the manes of this illustrious Rajpoot, in whose praise Chund is most eloquent. Whence the choice of a barber as a priest I know not; but as he has the universal care of the material portion of the Rajpoot, being always chosen as the cook, so there may be reasons for his having had an interest in the immaterial part in olden days, the tradition of which may have been lost. There is a piece of sculpture containing nine figures, said to represent Ravana, who came from "th' utmost isle Taprobane,"* to marry the daughter of the sovereign of Mundore. There was a lengthened legend to account for the name of *nagda*, or, 'serpentine,' being applied to the rivulet, but it is too long to relate. We must, therefore quit the fountain, where the gallant Pirthwiraj and his fair bride, the cause of strife between the Chohans and Puriharas, may have reposed, and visit the most remarkable relic within the precincts of this singular place.

A short distance from the foot of the causeway, an archway opens into an enclosed court or area, in the retired part of which and touching the mountain, is an extensive saloon; the roof is supported by a triple row of columns, of that light form peculiar to the Jains. Here are displayed, in all "the pomp and circumstance of war," the statues of the knights-errant of the desert, armed *cap-a-pie*, bestriding steeds whose names are deathless as their riders,' all in the costume of the times in which they lived. They are cut out of the rock, but entirely detached from it, and larger than life. Though more conspicuous for strength than symmetry, the grim visages of these worthies, apparently forwning defiance, each attended by his pundoo or squire, have a singularly pleasing effect. Each chieftain is armed with lance, sword, and buckler, with quiver and arrows, and poniard in his girdle. All are painted; but whether in the colours they were attached to, or according to the fancy of the architect, I know not. Before, however, entering this saloon, we pass a huge statue of Ganesa, placed as the guardian of the portal, having on each side, the two Bhiroos, sons of the god of war. Then appears the statue of Chamoonda (the goddess of destruction, and that of the terrific mother, Kankali, treading on the black demon Bhynsasoor, in whose flank her tiger-courser has buried

* *Tapoo Ravana*, 'the isle of Ravana,' wherever that may be.

his blood-thirsty tongue: in each of her eight arms she holds a weapon of destruction. The black Bhiroo (son of time), with a sable flag, bearing *argent* a horse *courant*, marshals the way through the field of blood to his mother. Between her and the heroes whose lives passed "in devotion to the sword," is a statue of the *Nathji* or 'spiritual guide' of the Rahtores: in one hand he holds his *mala* or 'chaplet;' in the other his *churri*, or 'patriarchal rod,' for the guidance of his flock. Mullinath heads the procession, mounted on a white charger, with a lance over his shoulder, to which is attached a flag; his quiver resting on his horse's right flank, and his mistress, Pudmavati, with a platter of food welcoming him from a raid, and who accompanied him when slain, to *Suryaloca* or 'the mansion of the sun.'

Then follows Pabooji mounted on his famous charger "Black Cæsar' (*Kesar Kali*) whose exploits are the theme of the itinerant bard and showman, who annually goes his round, exhibiting in pictorial delineations, while he recites in rhyme, the deeds of this warrior to the gossiping villagers of the desert.

Next comes Ramdeo Rahtore, a name famed in Maroodesa, and in whose honour altars are raised in every Rajpoot village in the country.

Then we have the brave Hurba Sankla, to whom Joda was indebted for protection in his exile, and for the redemption of Mundore when seized by the Rana of Cheetore.

Goga, the Chohan, who with his forty-seven sons fell defending the passage of Sutledge on Mahmood's invasion. Mewoh Mangulia brings up the rear, a famous chieftain of the Ghelote race. It would be tedious to relate any of the exploits of these worthies.

Another saloon, of similar architecture and still greater dimensions, adjoins that just described; it is termed *tyntees cula* devata ra than*, or 'abode of the (tutelary) divinities of the thirty-three races:' in short, the Pantheon of the Rajpoots. The statues are of gypsum, or stone covered with that substance; they are of large proportions. First, is the creator, Bramha; then Surya, 'the sun-god,' with his seven-headed steed; then the monkey-faced deity, Hanuman; Rama, and his beloved Sita; Kaniya, in the woods of Vrij, surrounded by the Gopis; and a most grave figure of Mahadeva, with a bull in his hand. These six, with the goddesses of life and

* I imagine the word *cula* or 'race,' of which, as often remarked, there are not thirty-three but thirty-six, has given rise to the assertion respecting the thirty-three *crore* or millions of gods of Hindusthan.

death, and of wisdom, constitute the eight chief divinities of the Hindus; whose qualities and attributes, personified, form an assemblage for which St. Peter's and the Vatican to boot, would be a confined dwelling.

I now retired to the palace and gardens built by Raja Ajeet; of which, however superb, it is impossible for the pen to give a definite idea. Suites of colonnaded halls, covered with sculpture of easy and even graceful execution, some with screens of lattice-work to secure the ladies from the public gaze, are on the lower range; while staircases lead to smaller apartments intended for repose. The gardens, though not extensive, as may be supposed, being confined within the adamantine walls reared by the hand of Nature, must be delightfully cool even in summer. Fountains, reservoirs, and water-courses, are everywhere interspersed; and though the thermometer in the open air was 86°,* the cold within doors (if this be not a solecism considering that there were no doors) was excessive. Some attention was paid to its culture; besides many indigenous shrubs, it boasted of some exotics. There was the golden *champa*, whose aroma is overpowering, and if laid upon the pillow will produce head-ache; the pomegranate, at once "rich in flower and fruit;" the apple of Sita, or *Sitaphala*, which, from similitude of taste, we call the custard-apple; a delicious species of the plantain, whose broad, verdant, glossy leaf alone, inspires the mind with the sensation of coolness; the *mogra*,; the *chamaili* or jessamine; and the queen of flowers, the *bara-masha*, literally the 'twelve-month,' because it flowers throughout the year. It is a delightful spot, and I felt a peculiar interest in it. Let the reader imagine the picture of a solitary Englishman scribbling amidst the ruins of Mundore: in front, a group of venerable mangoe-trees; a little further, an enormous isolated tamarind, "planted by the hand of a juggler in the time of Nahur Rao, the last of the Puriharas, before whom he exhibited this proof of legerdemain," and, as the legend goes, from whose branches the juggler met his death:† amidst its boughs the long-armed tribe, the allies of Rama, were skipping and chattering unmolested; while beneath, two Rahtore Rajpoots were stretched in sleep, their horses dozing beside them, standing as sedately

* Thermometer 55°, 72°, 86°, 80° at daybreak, ten, noon, and at sunset. On the 3rd November, the day of our arrival, the variations were 50°, 72° 80°, and 75° at those hours.

† See the autobiography of Jehangir, translated by that able Oriental scholar, Major Price, for the astonishing feats these jugglers perform in creating not only the tree, but the fruit.

as the statue of 'Black Cæsar:' a grenadier Sepoy of my escort parading by a camp-basket, containing the provender of the morning, completes the calm and quiet scene.

On the summit of the rock, across the narrow valley, several *gohas*, or caves, the abode of the hermit Atteit, were in sight. How the brains of these ascetics can stand the heat and confined air is a wonder, though, if they possessed any portion of that which is supposed to be necessary to the guidance of the machine, they would scarcely occupy such a position, nor consequently, the world's attention. *Mais tout est vanite*, a cause which has produced ten times the number of saints that piety has, and ten times ten of these troglodyte philosophers. Having walked out on the terrace or house-top of the palace, to catch a sun-beam and scare away an ague which tormented me, I discovered one of these animals coiled up on a heap of bat's-dung, in a corner of an apartment of the palace. He was dreadfully emaciated, and but for the rolling of a pair of eyes in visage covered with hair, there was nothing which betokened animation, much less humanity. There was none but the bat to dispute his reign, or "the spider which weaves its web in this "palace of the Cæsars." I had no inclination to disturb the process of ratiocination, or to ask to which sect of philosophers belonged this Diogenes of Mundore, who might, if he had utterance, have desired me to walk down stairs, and not intercept the sun-beam for whose warmth we were competitors. The day was now nearly departed, and it was time for me to return to my friends in camp. I finished the evening by another visit to the knights of the desert; and inscribing my name on the foot of 'Black Cæsar,' bade adieu to the ancient Mundore.

Nov. 15th—The Raja having invited us to a dinner at the palace, we sallied forth, belted and padded, to partake of Rajpoot hospitality. He had made a request which will appear somewhat strange,—that we would send our *cuisine*, as the fare of the desert might prove unpalatable; but this I had often seen done at Sindhia's camp, when joints of mutton, fowls, and fricassees, would diversify the provender of the Mahratta. I intimated, that we had no apprehension that we should not do justice to the gastronomy of Jodhpur; however, we sent our tables, and some claret to drink long life to the king of Marodes. Having paid our respects to our host, he dismissed us with the complimentary wish that appetite might wait upon us, and, preceded by a host of gold and silver sticks, we were ushered into a hall, where we found the table literally covered with curries, pillaus, and ragouts of every kind, in which was not forgotten the *hurea moong Mundore ra*, the

'green pulse of Mundore,' the favourite dish, next to *rabri* or maize-porridge, of the simple Rahtore. Here, however, we saw displayed the dishes of both the Hindu and Musulman, and nearly all were served in silver. The curries were excellent, especially those of the vegetable tribes made of the pulses, the *kakris* or cucumbers, and of a miniature melon not larger than an egg, which grows spontaneously in these regions, and is transported by *kasids* or runners, as present, for many hundreds of miles around. The hall was an entire new building, and scarcely finished; it is erected on the northern projection of the rock, where the escarpment is most abrupt, and looks down upon the site of the batteries of the league of 1806. It is called the *Maun mahal*, and, like the hall of audience, its flat roof is supported by numerous massive hewn columns. The view from it to the east is extensive, and we were told that the pinnacle of Komulmeer, though eighty miles distant, has been seen, in those clear days of the monsoon when the atmosphere is purified, after heavy showers, from the sand which is held suspended. Great care was taken that our meal should be uninterrupted, and that we should not be lions to an hour's amusement of the court. There was but one trivial occurrence to interrupt the decorum and attention of all present, and that was so slight that we only knew it after the entertainment was over. One of the menials of the court, either from ignorance or design, was inclined to evince contumely or bad breeding. It will be considered perhaps a singular circumstance, that the Hindu should place before a European the vessels from which he himself eats: but a little fire purifies any metallic vessels from all such contamination; and on this point the high blooded Rajpoot is less scrupulous than the bigotted Mahomedan, whom I have seen throw on the ground with contempt a cup from which his officer had drank water on a march. But of earthen-ware there can be no purification. Now there was a handsome China bowl, for which some old dowager fancier of such articles would have almost become a suppplicant, which having been filled with curds to the *Soodra Fringees*, could no longer be used by the prince, and it was brought by this menial, perhaps with those words, to my native butler. Kali Khan, or, as we familiarly called him, '*the black lord*,' was of a temper not to be trifled with; and as the domestic held it in his hand, saying, "take it, it is no longer of any use to us," he gave it a tap with his hand which sent it over the battlements, and coolly resuming his work, observed, "that is the way in which all useless things should be served;" a hint, which, if reported to Raja Maun, he seems to have acted on: for not many

months after, the minister, Akhi Chund, who dreaded lest European influence should release his master from his faction and thraldom, was treated by him in the same manner as the china bowl by Kali Khan.

*November 16th.** This day had been fixed for the Raja's visit to the envoy. In order to display his grandeur, he sent his own suite of tents, which were erected near mine. They were very extensive, modelled in every way after those of the Emperors of Delhi, and lined throughout with the royal colour, crimson: but this is an innovation, as will appear from the formulas yet preserved of his despatches, "from the foot of the throne, Jodhpur." The tent, in fact, was a palace in miniature, the whole surrounded by walls of cloth, to keep at a distance the profane vulgar. The *gadi*, or royal cushion and canopy, were placed in the central apartment. At three, all was noise and bustle in the castle and town; nakarras were reverberating, trumpets sounding the alarm, that the King of Maroo was about to visit the Fringee Vakeel. As soon as the flags and pennant were observed winding down 'the hill of strife' (*Joda-gir*) I mounted, and with the gentlemen of my suite proceeded through the town to meet the Rajah. Having complimented him *en route* we returned and received him at the tents. The escort drawn up at the entrance of the tent presented arms, the officers saluting; a mark of attention which gratified him, as did the soldier-like appearance of the men. Hitherto, what he had seen of regulars belonging to the native powers was not calculated to give him a favourable impression of foot-soldiers, who are little esteemed by the equestrian order of Rajpootana. His visit continued about an hour, when the shields were brought in, with jewels, brocades, shawls, and other finery, in all nineteen trays, being two less than I presented to the Rana of Oodipoor. I likewise presented him with some arms of English manufacture, a telescope, and smaller things much valued by the Rajpoots. After the final ceremony of perfumes, and *ater-pa'n* (which are admirable hints when you wish to get rid of a tiresome guest, though not so in this instance, the exterior wall was removed, and shewed the caparisoned elephant and horses, which were part of the khelat. At the door of the tent we made our salam, when the Raja gave me his hand, which, by the bye, was his first salutation on receiving me. It is an ancient Rajpoot custom, and their bards continually allude to extending the right hand—"*dextra extenta*."

* Thermometer 59°, 82°, 85°, 79°.

*November 17th,** I went to take leave of the Raja: I had a long and interesting conversation on this our last interview. I left him in the full expectation that his energy of character would surmount the difficulties by which he was surrounded, though not without a struggle, and condign punishment to some of the miscreants, the misleaders of his son, the assassins of his minister and high priest, and consequently the authors of his humiliating and protracted incarceration. Whether the first gratification of vengeance provoked his appetite, or whether the torrent of his rage, once impelled into motion, became too impetuous to be checked, so that his reason was actually disturbed by the sufferings he had undergone, it is certain he grew a demoniac; nor could any one, who had conversed with the bland, the gentlemanly, I might say gentle, Raja Maun, have imagined that he concealed under this exterior a heart so malignant as his subsequent acts evinced. But the day of retribution must arrive; the men who wrote that dignified remonstrance, which is given in another place, will not tamely bear their wrongs, and as they dare not levy war against their prince, who reposes under British protection, the dagger will doubtless find a way to reach him even in "the thousand-columned hall" of Jodhpur.

Besides the usual gifts at parting, which are matter of etiquette, and remain untouched by the individual, I accepted as a personal token of his favour, a sword, dagger, and buckler, which had belonged to one of his illustrious ancestors. The weight of the sword, which had often been "the angel of death," would convince any one that it must have been a nervous arm which carried it through a day. With mutual good wishes, and a request for a literary correspondence, which was commenced but soon closed, I bade adieu to Raja Maun and the capital of MARWAR.

* Thermometer 59°, 73°, 89°, 82°, at six, ten two, and sunset.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Nandla.—Beesilpur.—Remains of the ancient city.—Puchkullia, or Beechkulla.—Inscription.—Peepar.—Inscription confirming the ancient chronicles of Mewar.—Geological details.—Legend of Lake Sampoo.—Lakha Foolani.—Madreo.—Bhoroonda.—Buddun Sing.—His chivalrous fate.—Altar to Pertap.—Indawur.—Jat cultivators.—Stratification of Indawur.—Mairta.—Memory of Arungzeb.—Dhonkul Sing.—Jeimul, the hero of the Rahtores.—Tributes to his bravery.—Description of the city and plain of Mairta.—Cenotaphs.—Raja Ajeet.—His assassination by his sons.—The consequences of this deed, the seeds of the civil wars of Marwar.—Family of Ajeet.—Curious fact in the law of adoption amongst the Rahtores.—Ram Sing.—His discourtesy towards his chiefs.—Civil war.—Defection of the Jharejas from Ram Sing.—Battle between Ram Sing and Bukt Sing.—Defeat of the former, and the extirpation of the clan of the Mairtas.—The Mairta vassal of Mehtri.—The field of battle described.—Ram Sing invites the Mahrattas into his territory.—Bukt Sing becomes raja of Marwar.—His murder by the prince of Jeypur.—His son, Bejoy Sing, succeeds.—Jey Appa Sindhia and Ram Sing invade Marwar.—They are opposed by Bejoy Sing, who is defeated.—He flies to Nagore, where he is invested.—He cuts through the enemy's camp.—Solicits succour at Bikaneer and Jeypur.—Treachery of the raja of Jeypur.—Defeated by the chieftain of Reah.—Assassination of Appa Sindhia.

Nov. 19th—WE broke ground for Nandla, distant six miles. The first two miles from the capital was through deep sand; for the remainder of the journey the red sand-stone protruded, which gives some relief to the footing of the traveller. About half way we passed a small sheet of water, called after the mother of the pretender, Dhonkul Sing, the Shekhawut Tallao. This lady has constructed a *dhurmsala*, 'or hall for travellers,' on its bank, where she has erected a statue of Hanuman, and a pillar to commemorate her own good works. Not a shrub of any magnitude occurs, for even the stunted *Khyr* is rare in this plain of sand; which does not, however, appear unfavourable to the *moth*, a vetch on which they feed the cattle. Near the village we crossed the Jogini, the same stream which we passed between Jhalamund and the capital,

and which, joined by the Nagda from Mundore, falls into the Looni. The only supply of water for Nandla is procured from two wells dug on the margin of the stream. The water is abundant, and only four feet from the surface, but brackish. There are a hundred and twenty-five houses in Nandla, which is in the fief of the chieftain of Ahore. A few cenotaphs are on the banks of a tank, now dry. I went to look at them, but they contained names "unknown to fame."

Beesilpur, the next place, is distant six estimated coss of the country, and thirteen miles one furlong by the perambulator; heavy sand the whole way. Nevertheless we saw traces of the last autumnal crop of bajra and joar, two species of millet, which form the chief food of the people of the desert; and the vetch was still in heaps. Beesilpur is situated on a rising ground: the houses are uniform in height and regularly built, and coated with a compost of mud and chaff, so that its appearance is picturesque. It is protected by a circumvallation of thorns, the *kanta-ka-kote* and the stacks of chaff, as described at Eendurra. They are pleasing to the eye, as is every thing in such a place which shews the hand of industry. There was an ancient city here in former days, which was engulphed by an earthquake, though part of a gateway, and the fragment of a wall still mark its site. No inscriptions were observed. The water is obtained from a lake.

Nov. 21st.—Puchkullia, or Beechkulla, five coss (11 miles 5 furlongs): crossed and encamped on the Jojurri. The soil improving, of a brown sandy texture. Wheat and barley of excellent quality are grown on the banks of the river. It was a relief to meet once more a babool or a neem tree; even our Godwar cypress reared its head on the margin of the Jojurri. Although now only containing a hundred houses, this was once a place of some importance. I found a defaced inscription, in which "the son of Sonung, S. 1224," were still legible; but the mercenary Pathans have ruined the harvest of the antiquary. The village is a grant in fee to a Bhatti chieftain. Water is obtained from wells excavated on the margin of the river.

Nov. 22nd.—Peepar, four coss (8 miles 2 furlongs). Pursued the course of the river, the most extended arm of the Looni, coming from the hills near Purbatsir, on the frontiers of Jeypur. Its course is marked by the trees already mentioned. The soil, a mixture of black earth and sand, is termed *dhamuni*. Peepar is a town of 1,500 houses, one-third of which are inhabited by the Oswals of the Jain faith, the chief merchants of all their country. There are also about two hundred families of Muhaisries, or merchants of the Saiva

caste. Peepar carries on a considerable traffic, and has a chintz manufactory, which employs thirty families. It is in the grant of the feudal chief of Neemaj, whose death has been already related. A cenotaph, dedicated to one of his ancestors, has been half destroyed by the Goths of India. Peepar is celebrated in the traditions of the desert as one of the cities founded by Gundhurbsen, the Pramara monarch of Avanti, prior to the Christian era. The only inscription I discovered was in a temple of the sea-goddess Lacshmi. It bore the names of Bijoy Sing and Dailunji, Rajpoots of the Ghelote race, with the ancient title of Rawul. It was a happy confirmation of the most ancient chronicle of Mewar, which divides the Ghelotes into twenty-four *sachæ* or branches, of which one is called "Peeparia," doubtless from their having conquered this tract from the Takshac Pramara.

There is an abundance of wells, from sixty to eighty feet in depth. Of one recently excavated, I obtained the following details of the strata, which may be gratifying to the geologist. The first twenty feet are composed entirely of that kind of earth called *dhamuni*, chiefly decomposed sandstone with a mixture of black earth, in which occurs a stratum of bluish clay mixed with particles of quartz: this earth is called *morur* in Marwar, and *morund* in Jeypur. It was then necessary to cut through a rock of red granite* for thirty feet; then several feet of an almost milk-white steatite, succeeded by stalactitic concretions of sandstone and quartz.

Good water is also obtained from a lake called the Sampoo, which is connected with the tradition of the foundation of Peepar. A Brahmin of the Pali tribe, whose name was Peepa, was in the habit of carrying milk to a deity of the Serpent (*Takshac*) race, whose retreat was on the banks of this lake, and who deposited two pieces of gold in return for the Paliwal's offering. Being compelled to go to Nagore, he gave instructions to his son to perform his charitable office; but the youth, deeming it a good opportunity to become master of the treasure, took a stick with him, and when the serpent issued forth for his accustomed fare, he struck him violently; but the snake being "scotched, not killed," retreated to his hole. The young Brahmin related his adventure to his mother; when the good woman, dreading the vengeance of the serpentine deity, prepared a servant and bullock to convey her son to his father at Nagore. But what was her horror in the morning, when she went to call the youth, to find, instead of him, the huge serpent coiled up in his bed! Peepa, on his return, was

* Specimens of all these I brought home.

'inconsolable'; but stifling his revenge, he propitiated the serpent with copious libations of milk. The scaly monster was conciliated, and revealed the stores he guarded to Peepa, commanding him to raise a monument which would transmit a knowledge of the event to future ages. Hence Peepar arose from Peepa, the Pali, and the name of the lake *Sampoo*, from his benefactor the 'serpent' (*sampa*). All these allegorical tales regard the *Takshac* races, the followers of the religion of Budha or Jaina, and their feuds with the Brahminical sects. It is evident that Peepa, the Pali, worshipped both; and the very name induces a belief that the whole Paliwal caste are converts from Budhism.

There is a coond or fountain, called after Lakho Foolani, who ruled in ancient times at Phoolra, in the further corner of the desert, but carried his arms even to the ocean. Wherever I have travelled, tradition is loud in praise of Foolani, from the source of the Looni to its embouchure in the Delta of the Indus.*

Nov. 23rd.—Madreo, five coss (10 miles 2 furlongs). Roads good; soil as yesterday, but the country very desolate; only stunted shrubs since we removed from the margin of the river. This is a moderate-sized village, with a tank of good water.

Nov. 24th.—Bhoroonda,† four coss, or eight miles. The face of the country now changes materially; our route was over a low undulating ridge of sandstone, in which the stunted shrubs of this region find a bed. At one time, the elevation was sufficiently great to allow the chasm through which the road passed to be dignified with the name of 'the Gasooria Pass,' in which a party of the Raja's men is posted for defence, and the levy of transit duties. Bhoroonda is in the fief of Gopal Sing, the chief of Kochamun, one of the most conspicuous of the Mairta clan. It consists of one hundred and fifty houses; the cultivators are Jats, as are those of all the preceding villages.

I paid a visit to the humble cenotaphs of Bhoroonda; one of them bore the name of Buddun Sing, a sub-vassal of

* The traditional stanzas are invaluable for obtaining a knowledge both of ancient history and geography:

Kushup-gurh, Soorajpoora,
Basuck-gurh, Takoh,
Ondhani-gurh, Jugropoora,
Jo Phool-gurh i Lakho.

In this stanza, we have the names of six ancient cities in the desert, which belonged to Lakha, the Takoh, Tak, or Takshac, *i. e.* of the race figuratively called the 'serpent.'

† Omitted in the map; it is half way between Madreo and Indawur.

Kochamun, who was slain in the heroic charge against De Boigne's brigades, in the patriot field of Mairta. His name claims the admiration of all who esteem loyalty and patriotism, the inherent virtues of the chivalrous Rajpoot. Raja Bejoy Sing had resumed Bhoroonda, when the Thacoor retired to the adjacent court of Jeypur, where he was well received according to the hospitable customs of the Rajpoot, and had risen to favour at the period when the Mahrattas invaded his *bapota*, 'the land of his fathers'. Resentment was instantly sacrificed at the altar of patriotism; he put himself at the head of one hundred and fifty horse, and flew to his sovereign's and his country's defence. Unhappily, the whole Mahratta army interposed between him and his countrymen. To cut their way through all impediments was the instant resolve of Buddun and his brave companions. They fell sword in hand upon a multitude; and, with the exception of a few, who forced their way (amongst whom was the chief whose monument is referred to), they were cut to pieces. Buddun Sing lived to reach his ancient estate, which was restored to his family in token of his sovereign's gratitude for the gallant deed. It is valued at seven thousand rupees annual rent, and has attached to it, as a condition, the service of defending this post.

There was another small altar erected to the names of Pertap, who was killed in the defence of this pass against the army of Arungzeb.

Nov. 25th.—Indawur, five coss (10 miles 2 furlongs.) The place consists of two hundred houses; the cultivators are Jats. I have said little of these proprietors of the soil, a sturdy, independent, industrious race, who "venerate the plough," and care little about the votaries of Mars or their concerns, so that they do not impose excessive taxes on them. I have given a portrait of one of these cultivators in a wood-cut at the end of the last chapter, though I would not have the reader suppose that he is a sample of the ploughman; he is only a herdsman. The former are a stout, well-built, though rather murky race. The village is assigned to the ex-prince of Sinde, who derives his sole support from the liberality of the princes of Marwar. He is of the tribe called Kalora, and claims descent from the Abbassides of Persia. His family has been supplanted by the Talpooris, a branch of the Noomries (*the foxes*) of Balochishtan, who now style themselves Afghans, but who are in fact one of the most numerous of the Gete of Jit colonies from central Asia. But let us not wander from our subject.

I will beg the reader to descend seventy or eighty feet with me to view the stratification of Indawur. First, three feet of good soil; five feet of red sandy earth, mixed with particles

of quartz; six feet of an unctuous indurated clay;*—then follows a sand-rock, through which it was necessary to penetrate about sixty feet; this was succeeded by twenty feet of almost loose sand, with particles of pure quartz embedded; nodules and stalactitic concretions of sand-stone, quartz, and mica, agglutinated together by a calcareous cement. The interior of the well throughout this last stratum is faced with masonry: the whole depth is more than sixty-five cubits, or forty yards. At this depth, a spring of excellent water broke in upon the excavators, which supplies Indawur.

Nov. 26th.—Mairta, four coss (9 miles 1 furlong). The whole march was one extended plain; the Aravali towering about twenty-five miles to our right. To the west a wide waste, consisting of plains gently undulating, and covered with grass and underwood. Natural sterility is not the cause of this desert aspect, for the soil is rich; but the water is far beneath the surface, and they cannot depend upon the heavens. Joar, moth, and sesamum, were cultivated to a considerable extent in the immediate vicinity of the villages, but the product had this season been scanty. The appearance of the town is imposing, its site being on a rising ground. The spires of the mosque which was erected on the ruins of a Hindu temple by the tyrant Arungzeb, overtop the more ponderous and unaspiring *munders* which surround it. Notwithstanding this monarch was the object of universal execration to the whole Hindu race, more especially to the Rahtores, (whose sovereign, the brave Jesswunt, together with his elder son, he put to death by poison, and kept Ajeet twenty long years from his birth-right, besides deluging their fields with the richest blood of his nobles); still, such is Hindu toleration, that a marble is placed, inscribed both in Hindi and Persian, to protect the mosque from violence. This mark of liberality proceeded from the pretender Dhonkul Sing, as if with a view of catching golden opinions from the demoralized Pathans, by whose aid he hoped to regain his rights. But how was he deceived! His advances were met by the foul assassination, at one fell swoop, of all his party, by the chief of these mercenaries, Meer Khan.

Mairta was founded by Rao Dooda of Mundore, whose son, the celebrated Maldeo, erected the castle, which he called Malkote.† Mairta, with its three hundred and sixty townships,

* Mr. Stokes, of the Royal Asiatic Society, pronounces it to be a steatite.

† Rao Dooda had three sons, besides Maldeo, namely: First, Reamul; second, Birsing, who founded Amjerra in Malwa, still held by his descendants; third, Ruttun Sing, father of Meera Bae, the celebrated wife of Koombho Rana.

became the appanage of his son Jeimul, and gave its name of Mairtea to the bravest of the brave clans of the Rahtores. Jeimul was destined to immortalize his name beyond the limits of Maroo. Distrusted by his father, and likely to be deserving of suspicion, from the very *ruse* to which Shere Shah acknowledged he owed his safety, he was banished from Marwar. He was hospitably received by the Rana, who assigned to the heir of Mundore the rich district of Bednore, equalling his own in extent, and far richer in soil than the plains he had abandoned. How he testified his gratitude for this reception, nobler pens than mine have related. The great Akber claimed the honour of having with his own hand sealed his fate; he immortalized the match-lock with which he effected it, and which was also the theme of Jehangir's praise, who raised a statue in honour of this defender of Cheetore and the rights of its infant prince. Abulfazil, Herbert, the chaplain to Sir T. Roe, Bernier, all honoured the name of Jeimul; and the chivalrous Lord Hastings, than whom none was better able to appreciate Rajpoot valour, manifested his respect by his desire to conciliate his descendant, the present brave baron of Bednore.

The town of Mairta covers a large space of ground, and is enclosed with a strong wall and bastions, composed of earth to the westward, but of freestone to the east. All, however, are in a state of decay, as well as the town itself, which is said to contain twenty thousand houses. Like most Hindu towns, there is a mixture of magnificence and poverty; a straw or mud hut adjoins a superb house of freestone, which "shames the meanness" of its neighbour. The castle is about a gun-shot to the south-west of the town, and encloses an area of a mile and a half. Some small sheets of water are on the eastern and western faces. There are plenty of wells about the town, but the water has an unpleasant taste, from filtering through a stiff clay. There are but two strata before water is found, which is about twenty-five feet from the surface: the first a black mould, succeeded by the clay, incumbent on a loose sand, filled with quartzoze pebbles of all hues, and those stalactitic concretions, which mark, throughout the entire line from Jodpur to Ajmeer, the stratum in which the springs find a current. There are many small lakes around the town, as the Doodasir, or 'lake (*sir*) of Dooda;' the Baijpa, the Doorani, the Dungolia, &c.

The plain of Mairta is one continuous sepulchre, covered with altars to the manes of the warriors who, either in the civil wars which have distracted this state, or in the more patriotic strife with the southern Goths, have drenched it with their

blood. It is impossible to pass over this memorable field without a reference to these acts; but they would be unintelligible without going to the very root of dissension, which not only introduced the Mahratta to decide the intestine broils of the Rajpoot states, but has entailed a perpetuity of discord on that of Marwar. I have already succinctly related the parricidal murder of Raja Ajeet, which arose out of the politics of the imperial court, when the Syeds of Barah,—the Warwicks of the East,—deposed the Emperor Ferockseer, and set up a puppet of their own. With his daughter (whose marriage with the emperor originated, as already recorded, the first grant of land to the East-India Company), he retired to his dominions, leaving his son Abhe Sing at court, and refusing his sanction to the nefarious schemes of the Syeds. They threatened destruction to Marwar, declaring to the son of Ajeet, that the only mode of averting its ruin was his own elevation, and his subservience to their views, which object could only be obtained by his father's deposal and death. Even the reasoning resorted to, as well as the dire purpose of the miscreants, is preserved, and may serve as an illustration of Rajput feeling. When Abhe Sing refused or hesitated, he was asked, "*Mah bap ka sava, ya zumin ka sava?*" which, though difficult to render with accuracy, may be translated: "Are you a branch (*sacha*) of the land or of your parents?" As before said, land is all in all to the Rajpoot; it is preferred to every thing: Abhe's reply may therefore be inferred. Immediate installation was to be the reward of this revenging the Syeds. That nature could produce from the same stock two such monsters as the brothers who effected the deed, is, perhaps, hardly conceivable, and would, probably, be credited, were not the fact proved beyond doubt. I should desire, for the honour of the Rajput race, whose advocate and apologist I candidly avow myself, to suppress the atrocious record: but truth is dearer even than Rajpoot character. Of the twelve sons of Ajeet, Abhe Sing and Bukht Sing, were the two elder: both were by the same mother, a princess of Boondi. To Bukht Sing, who was with his father, the eldest brother wrote, promising him the independent sovereignty of Nagore (where they then were), with its five hundred and sixty-five townships, as the price of murdering their common sire. Not only was the wretch unstartled by the proposition, but he executed the deed with his own hands, under circumstances of unparalleled atrocity. His mother always dreaded the temperament and disposition of Bukht, who was bold, haughty, impetuous, with a perpetual thirst for action; and she cautioned her husband never to

admit him into his presence after dusk, or when unattended. But the Raja, whose physical strength was equal to his bravery, ridicueld her fears, observing, "Is he not my child? Besides, a slap on the face from me would annihilate the stripling." Upon receiving the note from his brother, Bukht, after taking leave of his father, concealed himself in a chamber adjoining that where his parents reposed. When all was still, the murderer stole to the bed in which lay the authors of his existence, and from a pallet, on which were placed the arms of Ajeet, he seized his sword, and coolly proceeded to exhaust those veins which contained the same blood that flowed in his own. In order that nothing might be wanting to complete the deed of horror, the mother was awakened by the blood of her lord moistening her bosom. Her cries awoke the faithful Rajputs who lay in the adjacent apartments, and who bursting into the chamber, discovered their prince and father dead: "Treason had done its worst." The assassin fled to the roof of the palace, barring the gates behind him, which resisted all attempts to force them until morning, when he threw into the court below the letter of his brother, exclaiming, "This put the Maharaja to death, not I." Abhe Sing was now their sovereign; and it is the actual occupant of the throne whom the Rajput deems entitled to his devotion. Eighty-four Satis took place on this dire occasion, the parent of these unnatural regicidal and parricidal sons leading the funeral procession. So much was Ajeet beloved, that even men devoted themselves on his pyre. Such was the tragical end of the great Ajeet, lamented by his chiefs, and consecrated by the bard, in stanzas in honour of him and in execration of the assassins; which afford proof of the virtuous independence of the poetic chronicler of Rajasthan.

Bukhta, bukhta, baera,
*Kyon mara Ajmal**
Hindwani ca Sewara
Toorkani ca Sal?
'Oh Bukhta, in evil hour,
Why slew you Ajmal,
The pillar of the Hindu,
The lance of the Toork?'

Bukht Sing obtained Nagore; and Abhe Sing was rewarded with the viceroyalty of Guzerat, which gift he repaid by aiding in its partition, and annexing the rich districts of Beenmahl, Sanchore, and others, to Marwar; on which occasion he added Jhalore to the domain of his brother Bukhta,

* The bards give adjuncts to names in order to suit their rhymes; Ajeet is the 'invincible: Aj-mal, a contraction of *Ajya-mal*, 'wealth invincible.'

or as the bard styles him, *bud-bukhta*, 'the unfortunate.' This additional reward of parricide has been the cause of all the civil wars of Marwar.

We may slightly notice the other sons of Ajeet, whose issue affected the political society of Rajpootana. Of these.

Devi Sing was given for adoption to Maha Sing, head of the Champawut clan, he having no heirs. Devi Sing then held Beenmahl, but which he could not retain against the Koli tribes around him, and Pokuran was given in exchange. Subbul Sing, and Salim Sing (whose escape from the fate of the chieftain of Neemaj has been noticed), are the lineal issue of this adoption.

Anund Sing, another son of Ajeet, was in like manner adopted into the independent state of Edur, and his issue are heirs-presumptive to the throne of Marwar.

From these races we derive the knowledge of a curious fact, namely, that the issue of the younger brother maintains a claim, though adopted into a foreign and independent state; while all such claims are totally extinguished by adoption into a home clan. Under no circumstances could the issue of Devi Sing sit on the *gadi* of Marwar; when adopted into the Champawut clan, he surrendered all claims derived from his birth, which were merged into his vassal rank. Still the recollection must give weight and influence; and it is evident from the boast of the haughty Devi Sing, when his head was on the block, that there is danger in these adoptions.

Abhe Sing died, leaving a memorial of his prowess in the splendid additions he made to his territories from the tottering empire of Delhi. He was succeeded by his son, Ram Sing, on whose accession his uncle, Bukht, sent his aged fostermother, an important personage in Rajwarra, with the *teeka* and gifts, and other symbols of congratulation. Ram Sing, who had all the impetuosity of his race, received the lady-ambassador with no friendly terms, asking her if his uncle had no better messenger to salute his new sovereign. He refused the gifts, and commanded her to tell his uncle to surrender Jhalore. The offended dame extenuated nothing of the insolence of the message. The reply was, however, courteous, implying, that both Jhalore and Nagore were at his disposal. The ame sarcastic spirit soon precipitated matters between them, in the following manner.

Koosul Sing of Ahwa, the premier noble of Marwar, and of all the clans of Champawut, more brave than courtly, was short in stature, sturdy, boorish, and blunt; he became the object of his young sovereign's derision, who used to style him the *goorji gunduc*, or 'turnspit dog' and who had once

the audacity to say, "come goorji;" when he received the laconic reproof: "yes; the goorji that dare bite the lion."

Brooding over this merited retort, he was guilty of another sarcasm, which closed the breach against all reconciliation. Seated one day in the garden of Mundore, he asked the same chief the name of a tree. "The Champa," was the reply, "and the pride of the garden, as I am of your Rajpoots."—"Cut it down instantly," said the prince; "root it out; nothing which bears the name of Champa shall exist in Marwar."

Kunniram of Asope, the chief of the next most powerful clan, the Kompawut, was alike the object of this prince's ridicule. His countenance, which was not "cast in nature's finest mould," became a butt for his wit, and he would familiarly say to him, "*ao booda bandur*," "come along, old monkey." Boiling with rage, the chief observed, "when the monkey begins to dance, you will have some mirth." Leaving the court, with his brother chieftain of Ahwa, they collected their retainers and families, and marched to Nagore. Bukht Sing was absent, but being advised by his *locum tenens* of his visitors, and of their quarrel with his nephew, he lost no time in joining them. It is said he expostulated with them, and offered himself as mediator; but they swore never again to look in the face of Ram Sing as their sovereign, They offered to place Bukht Sing on the *gadi of Joda*; and threatened, if he refused, to abandon Marwar. He played the part of our Richard for a short time; but the habitual arrogance of his nephew soon brought matters to a crisis. As soon as he heard that the two leaders of all his vassals were received by his uncle, he addressed him, demanding the instant surrender of Jhalore. Again he had the courtly reply: "he dare not contend against his sovereign; and if he came to visit him, he would meet him with a vessel of water."* War, a horrid civil war, was now decided on; the challenge was given and accepted, and the plains of Mairta were fixed upon to determine this mortal strife, in which brother was to meet brother, and all the ties of kin were to be severed by the sword. The Mairtea clans, the bravest, as they are the most loyal and devoted, of all the brave clans of Maroo, united to a man under the sovereign's standard; the chiefs of Reah, Boodsu, Mehtri, Kholur, Bhorawur Kochamun, Alneawas, Jusuri, Bokri, Bhoroonda, Eerwoh, and Chandaroon collected around them every vassal who could wield a brand. Most of the clans of Joda, attracted by the name of *swamdherma*, 'fidelity to their lord,' united themselves to the Mairteas; though a few, as Ladnu,

* This reply refers to a custom analogous to the Scythic investiture by offering "water and soil."

Neembi, were on the adverse side; but the principal leaders as Khyrwa, Govindgurh, and Bhadrajoon, were faithful to their salt. Of the services of others, Ram Sing's insolence deprived him. Few remained neuter. But these defections were nothing to the loss of a body of five thousand Jhareja auxiliaries, whom his connexion with a daughter of the prince of Bhooj brought to his aid. When the tents were moved outside the capital, an incident occurred which, while it illustrates the singular character of the Rajpoot, may be regarded as the real cause of the loss of sovereignty to Ram Sing. An inauspicious raven had perched upon the *kanat*, or wall of the tent in which was the Jhareja queen, who, skilled in the art of the *sookuni** (augur), determined to avert it. Like all Rajpootnis, who can use fire-arms on occasion, she seized a matchlock at hand, and, ere he "thrice croaked," she shot him dead. The impetuous Raja, enraged at this instance of audacity and disrespect, without inquiry ordered the culprit to be dragged before him; nor was his anger assuaged when the name of the Rani was given. He reviled her in the grossest terms: "tell the Rani," said he, "to depart my dominions, and to return from whence she came." She entreated and conjured him, by a regard to his own safety, to revoke the decree; but all in vain; and with difficulty could she obtain a short interview, but without effecting any change in her obdurate lord. Her last words were, "with my exile from your presence, you will lose the crown of Marwar." She marched that instant, carrying with her the five thousand auxiliaries, whose presence must have ensured his victory.

The Oodawut clans, led by their chief of Neemaj, Raipur, and Raus, with all the Kurrunsotes under the Thacoor of Kewnsir, united their retainers with the Champawuts and Kompawuts under the banners of Bukht Sing.

Ram Sing's array fell far short of his rival's since the defection of the Jharejas: yet, trusting to the name of sovereign as "a tower of strength," he boldly marched to the encounter, and, when he reached the hostile field, encamped near the Ajmeer gate of Mairta. His rival was not long behind, and marshalled his clans within three miles of the northern portal, called the gate of Nagore. The spot he chose had a sacred character, and was called *mataji ca than*, where there was a shrine of the Hindu Hecate, with a fountain said to have been constructed by the Pandus.

Bukht Sing commenced the battle. Leaving his camp standing, he advanced against his nephew and sovereign, whom

* *Sookun feerna* means to avert the omen of evil.

he saluted with a general discharge of his artillery. A vigorous cannonade was continued on both sides throughout the day, without a single man seeking a closer encounter. It is no wonder they paused ere the sword was literally drawn. Here was no foreign foe to attack; brother met brother, friend encountered friend, and the blood which flowed in the veins of all the combatants was derived from one common fountain. The reluctance proceeded from the *Borge* the innate principle of natural affection. Evening advanced amidst peals of cannon, when an incident, which could only occur in an army of Rajputs, stopped the combat. On the banks of the Baijpa lake, the scene of strife, there is a monastery of Dadoopunti ascetics, built by Raja Soor Sing. It was nearly midway between the rival armies, and the shot fell so thick amidst these recluses that they fled in a body, leaving only the old patriarch. Baba (father) Kishendeo disdained to follow his disciples, and to the repeated remonstrances from either party to withdraw, he replied, that if it was his fate to die by a shot he could not avert it; if not, the balls were innoxious: but although he feared not for himself, yet his gardens and monastery were not "charmed," and he commanded them to fight no longer on that ground. The approach of night, and the sacred character of the old abbot Dadoopunti, conspired to make both parties obey his commands, and they withdrew to their respective encampments.

The dawn found the armies in battle-array, each animated with a deadly determination. It was Raja Ram's turn to open this day's combat, and he led the van against his uncle. Burning with the recollection of the indignities he had suffered, the chief of Ahwa, determined to shew that "the cur could bite," led his Champawuts to the charge against his sovereign. Incited by loyalty and devotion "to the gadi of Marwar," reckless who was its occupant, the brave Mairteas met his onset steel in hand. The ties of kin were forgotten, or if remembered, the sense of the unnatural strife added a kind of frenzy to their valour, and confirmed their resolution to conquer or die. Here the Mairtea, fighting under the eye of this valiant though intemperate prince, had to maintain his ancient fame, as "the first sword of Maroo." There his antagonist, the Champawut, jealous of this reputation, had the like incentive, besides the obligation to revenge the insults offered to his chief. The conflict was awful: the chieftains of each valiant clan met hand to hand, singling out each other by name. Shere Sing chief of all the Mairteas was the first who sealed his devotion by his death. His place was soon filled by his brother, burning for vengeance. Again he cheered

on his Mairteas to avenge the death of their lord, as he propelled his steed against the chief of the Champawuts. They were the sons of two sisters of the Jeypur house, and had hitherto lived in amity and brotherly love, now exchanged for deadly hate. They encountered, when the "cur" bit the dust, and was borne from the field. The loss of their leaders only inflamed the vassals on both sides, and it was long before either yielded a foot of ground. But numbers, and the repeated charges of Bukht Sing, who led wherever his nephew could be found, at length prevailed; though not until the extinction of the clan of Mairtea, who, despising all odds, fought unto the death. Besides their head of Reah, there fell the sub-vassals of Eerwah, Sewuroh, Joossurie, and Mehtri, with his three gallant sons, and almost all their retainers.

There is nothing more chivalrous in the days of Edward and Cressy than the death of the heir of Mehtri, who, with his father and brothers sealed his fealty with his blood on this fatal field. He had long engaged the hand of a daughter of a chief of the Nirookas, and was occupied with the marriage rites, when tidings reached him of the approach of the rebels to Mairta. The knot had just been tied, their hands had been joined—but he was a Mairtea—he unlocked his hand from that of the fair Nirooki, to court the Apsara in the field of battle. In the bridal vestments, with the nuptial coronet (*mor*) encircling his forehead, he took his station with his clan in the second day's fight, and "obtained a bride in Indra's abode." The bards of Maroo dwell with delight on the romantic glory of the youthful heir of Mehtri, as they repeat in their Doric verse,

"Kana mooti bulbulla
Gulla sonia malla
Asi coss kurro ho aya
Konwur Mehtriwalla."

The paraphernalia, here enumerated, are very foreign to the cavalier of the west: "with pearls shining in his ears, and a golden chaplet round his neck, a space of eighty coss came the heir of Mehtri."

The virgin bride followed her lord from Jeypur, but instead of being met with the tabor and lute, and other signs of festivity, wail and lamentation awaited her within the lands of Mehtri, where tidings came of the calamity which at once deprived this branch of the Mairteas of all its supporters. Her part was soon taken; she commanded the pyre to be erected; and with the turban and *toorah*, which adorned her lord on this fatal day, she followed his shade to the mansions of the sun. I sought out the cenotaph of this son of honour

in the blood-stained field; but the only *couronne immortelle* I could wreathe on these sandy plains was supplied by the Bardai, whose song is full of martial fire as he recounts the gallantry of "*Kanwur Mehtri-wallah.*"

The Mairteas, and their compeers on the side of the prince, made sad havoc amongst their opponents; and they still maintain that it was owing to the artillery alone that they were defeated. Their brave and loyal leader, Shere Sing of Reah, had fruitlessly endeavoured to recall his brother-in-law from the path of treason, but ineffectually; he spoke with sarcasm of his means to supplant Ran Sing by his uncle. The reply of the old baron of Ahwa is characteristic: "at least I will turn the land upside down;" to do which Shere Sing rejoined, angrily, he would do his best to prevent him. Thus they parted; nor did they meet again till in arms at Mairta.

In surveying this field of slaughter, the eye discerns no *point d'appui*, no village or key of position, to be the object of a struggle; nothing to obstruct the doubly-gorged falconet, which has no terrors for the uncontrollable valour of the Rahtore; it perceives but a level plain, extended to the horizon, and now covered with the memorials of this day's strife. Here appears the colonnaded mausoleum, with its airy cupola; there the humble record of the name, clan, and sakha of him whose ashes repose beneath, with the date of the event, inscribed in rude characters. Of these monumental records I had copies made of about a scorce; they furnish fresh evidence of the singular character of the Rajpoot.

Ram Sing retired within the walls of the city, which he barricaded; but it being too extensive to afford the chance of defence against the enemy, he formed the fatal resolution of calling to his aid the Mahrattas, who were then rising into notice. At midnight, he fled to the south; and at Oojein found the Mahratta leader, Jey Appa Sindia, with whom he concerted measures for the invasion of his country. Meantime, his uncle, being master of the field, repaired, without loss of time, to the capital, where he was formally enthroned; and his *án* was proclaimed throughout Marwar. As skilful as he was resolute, he determined to meet on his frontier the threatened invasion, and accordingly advanced to Ajmeer, in order to interpose between the Mahrattas and Jeypur, whose prince, Eesuri Sing, was father-in-law to his rival. He wrote him a laconic epistle, requiring him either instantly to unite with him in attacking the Mahrattas, or declare himself his foe. The Jeypur prince had many powerful reasons for not supporting Raja Bukht, but he at the same time dreaded his enmity. In this extremity, he had recourse to an expedient too common in

cases of difficulty. Concerting with his wife, a princess of Eedur (then ruled by one of the sons of Ajeet), the best mode of extrication from his difficulties, he required her aid to revenge the foul murder of Ajeet, and to recover his son's right. "In either case," said he, "the sword must decide, for he leaves me no alternative: against him I have no hopes of success; and if I march to the aid of an assassin and usurper, I lose the good opinion of mankind." In short, he made it appear that she alone could rescue him from his perils. It was, therefore, resolved to punish one crime by the commission of another. Eesuri Sing signified his assent; and to lull all suspicion, the Rhatorni was to visit her uncle in his camp on the joint frontier of the three states of Mewar, Marwar, and Ambar. A poisoned robe was the medium of revenge. Raja Bukht, soon after the arrival of his niece, was declared in a fever; the physician was summoned: but the man of secrets, the *vadya*, declared he was beyond the reach of medicine, and bade him prepare for other scenes. The intrepid Rahtore, yet undismayed, received the tidings even with a jest: "What Sooja," said he, "no cure? Why do you take my lands and eat their produce, if you cannot combat my maladies? What is your art good for?" The *vadya* excavated a small trench in the tent, which he filled with water; throwing into it some ingredient, the water became gelid. "This," said he, "can be effected by human skill; but your case is beyond it: haste, perform the offices which religion demands." With perfect composure he ordered the chiefs to assemble in his tent; and having recommended to their protection, and received their promise of defending the rights of his son, he summoned the ministers of religion into his presence. The last gifts to the church, and these her organs, were prepared; but with all his firmness, the anathema of the Satis, as they ascended the funeral pyre on which his hand had stretched his father, came into his mind; and as he repeated the ejaculation, "may your corpse be consumed in foreign land!" he remembered he was then on the border. The images, which crossed his mental vision, it is vain to surmise; he expired as he uttered these words; and over his remains, which were burnt on the spot, a cenotaph was erected, and is still called *Booro Dewul*, the 'Shrine of Evil.'

But for that foul stain, Raja Bukht would have been one of the first princes of his race. It never gave birth to a bolder; and his wisdom was equal to his valour. Before the commission of that act, he was adored by his Rajpoots. He was chiefly instrumental in the conquests made from Guzerat; and afterwards, in conjunction with his brother, in defeating the imperial viceroy, Sirbullund. His elevation could not be called a usur-

pation, since Ram Sing was totally incapacitated through his ungovernable passions, for sovereign sway; and the brave barons of Marwar, "all sons of the same father with their prince," have always exercised the right of election, when physical incapacity rendered such a measure requisite. It is a right which their own customary laws, as well as the rules of justice, have rendered sacred. According to his principle, nearly all the feudality of Maroo willingly recognized, and swore to maintain, the claims of his successor, Bejoy Sing. The Rajas of Bikaneer and Kishengurh, both independent branches of this house, gave in their assent. Bejoy Sing was accordingly proclaimed and installed at Maroat, and forthwith conducted to Mairta.

The ex-prince, Ram Sing, accompanied Jey Appa to the siege of Kotah, and subsequently through Mewar, levying contributions as they passed to Ajmeer. Here a dispute occurred between the brave Rahtore and Sindia, whose rapacious spirit for plunder received a severe reproof; nevertheless they crossed the frontier, and entered Marwar. Bejoy Sing, with all the hereditary valour of his race, marched to meet the invaders, at the head of nearly all the chivalry of Maroo, amounting to 200,000 men.

The first day both armies encountered, they limited their hostility to a severe cannonade and partial actions, the inhabitants of Mairta supplying the combatants with food, in which service many were killed; even the recluse Dadoopuntis ran the risk in this patriotic struggle, and several of the old patriarch's disciples suffered. The second day passed in the same manner, with many desperate charges of cavalry, in which the Mahrattas invariably suffered, especially from a select body of 5,000 select horse, all cased in armour, which nothing could withstand. The superior numerical strength of Ram Sing and his allies compelled Bejoy Sing not to neglect the means of retreat. Throughout the first and second days' combat, the cattle of the train had been kept yoked; on the third, they had carried them to a small rivulet in the rear to water. It was at the precise moment of time when the legion of cuirassiers were returning from à charge which had broken to pieces the Mahratta line, as they approached their friends, the word "*dugga*" spread like wildfire; they were mistaken for Ram Sing's adherents, and a murderous shower of grape opened upon the flower of their own army, who were torn to pieces ere the fatal error was discovered. But such was the impression which this band of heroes had just made on the Mahrattas, that they feared to take advantage of this disaster. A feeling of horror pervaded the army of Bejoy Sing, as the choice of their chivalry

conveyed the slain and the wounded to the camp. A council of war was summoned, and the aid of superstition came to cool that valour which the Mahrattas, in spite of their numbers, could never subdue. The Raja was young,—only twenty years of age; and being prudent as well as brave, he allowed experience to guide him. The Raja of Bikaneer, of the same kin and clan, took the lead, and advised a retreat. In the accident related, he saw the hand of Providence, which had sent it to serve as a signal to desist. The Raja had a great stake to lose, and doubtless deemed it wise to preserve his auxiliaries for the defence of his own dominions. It was a case which required the energy of Bukhta: but the wavering opinion of the council soon spread throughout the camp, and was not unobserved by the enemy; nor was it till Bikaneer marched off with his aid, towards the close of the day, that any advantage was taken of it. Then Ram Sing, at the head of a body of Rajpoots and Mahrattas, poured down upon them, and "*sauve qui peut*" became the order of the day. To gain Mairta was the main object of the discomfited and panic-stricken Rahtores; but many chiefs with their vassals marched direct for their estates. The guns were abandoned to their fate, and became the first proud trophy the Mahrattas gained over the dreaded Rajpoots. The Raja of Kishengurh, also a Rahtore, followed the example of his brother, prince of Bikaneer, and carried off his bands. Thus deserted by his dispirited and now dispersed barons, the young prince had no alternative but flight, and at midnight he took the route of Nagore. In the darkness he mistook the road, or was misled into that of Rayn, whose chieftain was the companion of his flight. Calling him by name, Lall Sing, he desired him to regain the right path; but the orders of a sovereign at the head of a victorious army, and those of a fugitive prince, are occasionally received, even amongst Rajpoots, with some shades of distinction. The chief begged permission, as he was near home, to visit his family and bring them with him. Too dignified to reply, the young prince remained silent, and the Thacoor of Rayn * loitered in the rear. The Raja reached Kujwana, with only five of his cuirassiers (*sillahposh*) as an escort. Here he could not halt with safety; but as he left the opposite barrier, his horse dropped down dead. He mounted another belonging to one of his attendants, and gained Deswal, three miles further. Here the steeds, which had been labouring throughout the day under the weight of heavy armour, in addition to the usual burden of their riders, were too jaded to proceed; and Nagore was still sixteen miles distant. Leaving

* Or *Rahin* in the map, on the road to Jahil from Mairta.

his worn-out escort, and concealing his rank, he bargained with a Jat to convey him before break of day to the gate of Nagore for the sum of five rupees. The peasant, after stipulating that the coin should be *beeji-sahis*, 'the new currency,' which still remains the standard, the common car of husbandry was brought forth, on which the king of Maroo ascended, and was drawn by a pair of Nagori oxen. The royal fugitive was but little satisfied with their exertions, though their pace was good, and kept continually urging them, with the customary cry of "*hank! hank!*" The honest Jat, conscious that his cattle did their best, at length lost all temper. Repeating the sounds "*hank! hank!*" "who are you," asked he, "that are hurrying on at this rate? It were more becoming that such a sturdy carl should be in the field with Bejoy Sing at Mairta, than posting in this manner to Nagore. One would suppose you had the southerns (*dehkhanis*) at your heels. Therefore be quiet, for not a jot faster shall I drive." Morning broke, and Nagore was yet two miles distant: the Jat, turning round to view more attentively his impatient traveller, was overwhelmed with consternation when he recognized his prince. He leaped from the vehicle, horror-struck that he should have been sitting "on the same level" with his sovereign, and absolutely refused to sin any longer against etiquette. "I pardon the occasion," said the prince mildly; "obey." The Jat resumed his seat, nor ceased exclaiming *hank! hank!* until he reached the gate of Nagore. Here the prince alighted, paid his price of conveyance, and dismissed the Jat of Deswal, with a promise of further recompense hereafter. On that day the enemy invested Nagore, but not before Bejoy Sing had despatched the chief of Hursolah to defend the capital, and issued his proclamations to summon the ban of Marwar.

During six months he defended himself gallantly in Nagore, against which the desultory Mahrattas, little accustomed to the operations of a siege, made no impression, while they suffered from the sallies of their alert antagonist. Encouraged by their inactivity, the young prince, imbued with all the native valour of his race, and impelled by that decisive energy of mind which characterized his father, determined upon a step which has immortalized his memory. He resolved to cut way through the enemy, and solicit succours in person. He had a dromedary corps five hundred strong. Placing on these a devoted band of one thousand Rajpoots, in the dead of night he passed the Mahratta lines unobserved, and made direct for Bikaneer. Twenty-four hours sufficed to seat him on the same *gadi* with its prince, and to reveal to him the melancholy fact, that here he had no hopes of succour. Denied by a branch of

his own house, he resorted to a daring experiment upon the supporter of his antagonist. The next morning he was on his way, at the head of his dromedary escort, to the capital of the Cutchwahas, Jeypur. The "ships of the desert" soon conveyed him to that city. He halted under the walls, and sent a messenger to say that in person he had come to solicit his assistance.

Eesuri Sing, the son and successor of the great Sowaie, Jey Sing, had neither the talents of his father, nor even the firmness which was the common inheritance of his race. He dreaded the rival Rahtore; and the pusillanimity which made him become the assassin of the father, prompted him to a breach of the sacred laws of hospitality (which, with courage, is a virtue almost inseparable from a Rajpoot soul), and make a captive of the son. But the base design was defeated by an instance of devotion and resolution, which will serve to relieve the Rajpoot character from the dark shades which the faithful historian is sometimes forced to throw into the picture. Civil war is the parent of every crime, and severs all ties, moral and political; nor must it be expected that Rajpootana should furnish the exception to a rule, which applies to all mankind in similar circumstances. The civil wars of England and France, during the conflicts of the White and the Red Roses, and those of the League, will disclose scenes which would suffice to dye, with the deepest hues, an entire dynasty of the Rajpoots. Let such deeds as the following be placed on the virtuous side of the account, and the crimes, on the opposite side, be ascribed to the peculiarities of their condition.

The devoted sacrifice of Shere Sing, the chief of the Mairtea clan, has already been recorded. When victory declared against the side he espoused, the victorious Bukht Sing resumed the estates of Reah from his line, and conferred them on a younger branch of the family. Jowan Sing was the name of the individual, and he was now with the chosen band of the son of his benefactor, soliciting succour from the king of the Cutchwahas. He had married the daughter of the chief of Atchrole, one of the great vassals of Jeypur, who was deep in the confidence of his sovereign, to whom he imparted his design to seize the person of his guest and suppliant at the interview he had granted. Aware that such a scheme could not be effected without bloodshed, the Atchrole chieftain, desirous to save his son-in-law from danger, under an oath of secrecy revealed the plot, in order that he might secure himself. The Jeypur prince came to the "Travellers' hall" (*dharmsala*), where the Rahtore had alighted; they embraced with cordiality, and seated themselves on the same

gadi together. While compliments were yet passing, the faithful Mairtea, who, true to his pledge, had not even hinted to his master the danger that threatened him, placed himself immediately behind the Jeypur prince, sitting, as if accidentally, on the flowing skirt of his robe. The Raja, turning round to the leader of "the first of the swords of Maroo," remarked, "Why, Thacoor, you have taken a seat in the back-ground to-day?"—"The day requires it, Maharaja," was the laconic reply: for the post of the Mairteas was the sovereign's right hand. Turning to his prince, he said, "Arise, depart, or your life or liberty is endangered." Bejoy Sing arose, and his treacherous host made an attempt to follow, but felt his design impeded by the position the loyal chief had taken on his garment, whose drawn dagger was already pointed to his heart, where he threatened to sheathe it if any hindrance was offered to the safe departure of his sovereign, to whom he coolly said, as the prince left the astonished assembly, "send me word when you are mounted." The brave Bejoy Sing shewed himself worthy of his servant, and soon sent to say, "he now only waited for him:" a message, the import of which was not misunderstood by the treacherous Cutchwahá. The leader of the Mairteas sheathed his dagger—arose—and coming in front of the Raja, made him a respectful obeisance. The Jeypur prince could not resist the impulse which such devotion was calculated to produce; he arose, returned the salutation, and giving vent to his feelings, observed aloud to his chiefs, "Behold a picture of fidelity! It is in vain to hope for success against such men as these."

Foiled in all his endeavours, Bejoy Sing had no resource but to regain Nagore, which he effected with the same celerity as he quitted it. Six months more passed away in the attempt to reduce Nagore; but though the siege was fruitless, not so were the efforts of his rival Ram Sing in other quarters, to whom almost all the country had submitted: Maroat, Purbutsir, Palli, Sojut, had received his flag; and besides the capital and the town he held in person, Jhalore, Sewanoh, and Filodi, were the only places which had not been reduced. In this extremity, Bejoy Sing listened to an offer to relieve him from these multiplied difficulties, which, in its consequences, alienated, for ever, the brightest gem in the crown of Marwar.

A Rajpoot and an Afghan, both foot-soldiers on a small monthly pay, offered, if their families were provided for, to sacrifice themselves for his safety by the assassination of the Mahratta commander. Assuming the garb of camp-suttlers, they approached the head-quarters, feigning a violent quarrel. The simple Mahratta chief was performing his ablutions at the

door of his tent, which as they approached, they became more vociferous, and throwing a bundle of statements of account on the ground, begged he would decide between them. In this manner they came nearer and nearer, and as he listened to their story, one plunged his dagger in his side, exclaiming "this for Nagore!" and "this for Jodhpur!" said his companion as he repeated the mortal blow. The alarm was given; the Afghan was slain; but the Rajpoot called out "thief!" and mingling with the throng, escaped by a drain into the town of Nagore. Though the crime was rewarded, the Rahtore refused to see the criminal. The siege continued, but in spite of every precaution, reinforcements both of men and provisions continued to be supplied. It ill-suited the restless Mahratta to waste his time in these desert regions, which could be employed so much more profitably on richer lands: a compromise ensued; in which the cause of Ram Sing was abandoned, on stipulating for a fixed triennial tribute and the surrender of the important fortress and district of Ajmeer in full sovereignty to the Mahratta, in *moondkati*, or compensation for the blood of Jey Appa. The monsoon was then approaching; they broke up, and took possession of this important conquest, which, placed in the very heart of these regions, may be called the key of Rajpootana.

The cross of St. George now waves over the battlements of Ajmeer, planted, if there is any truth in political declarations, not for the purpose of conquest, or to swell the revenues of British India, but to guard the liberties and the laws of these ancient principalities from rapine and disorder. It is to be hoped that this banner will never be execrated by the brave Rajpoot.

The deserted Ram Sing continued to assert his rights with the same obstinacy by which he lost them; and for which he staked his life in no less than eighteen encounters against his uncle and cousin. At length, on the death of Eesuri Sing of Jeypur, having lost his main support, he accepted the Marwar share of the Salt Lake of Sambur, and Jeypur relinquishing the other half, he resided there until his death.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Madaji Sindhia succeeds Jey Appa.—Union of the Rahtores and Cutchwahas, joined by Ismael Beg and Hamdani, against the Mahrattas.—Battle of Tonga.—Sindhia defeated.—Ajmeer retaken, and tributary engagement annulled.—Madaji Sindhia recruits his army, with the aid of De Boigne.—The Rajpoots meet him on the frontier of Jeypur.—Jealousies of the Allies.—The Cutchwahas alienated by a scurrilous stanza.—Battle of Patun.—Effects of the Jeypureans, treachery, in the defeat of the Rahtores.—Stanza of the Cutchwaha bard.—Suggestion of Bejoy Sing—his chiefs reject it, and the Prince prepares for war.—Treason of the Rahtore chief of Kishengurh.—The Mahrattas invade Marwar.—Resolution of the chiefs of Ahwa and Asope to conquer or perish.—Rahtores encamp on the plains of Mairta.—Golden opportunity lost of destroying the Mahratta army.—Fatal compliance of the chiefs with the orders of the civil minister.—Rout of the camp.—Heroism of the Rahtore clans—their destruction.—Treachery of the Singwi faction.—The chief minister takes poison.—Reflections on the Rajpoot character, with reference to the protective alliance with the British Government.—Resumption of journey—Jhirrow.—Cross the field of battle.—See-kote, or Mirage, compared with the Schrab of the Scripture.—Desert of Sogdiana.—Hissar—at sea.—Description of the Jhirrow.—Cenotaph of Herakurna Das.—Alneawas.—Reah.—The mountain Mairs—their descent upon Reah—slaying its chief.—Govindgurh.—Chase of a hyœna.—Lake of Poshkur—geological details.—Description of the Lake—its legend.—Ajapál, the founder of Ajmeer.—Beesildeva, the Chohan Sing of Ajmeer.—Places of devotion on the 'Serpent-rock,'—Ajmeer.—View of Dhar-ool-Khyr.—Geological details.—City of Ajmeer—Its rising prosperity.

Madaji Sindhia succeeded to the command of the horde led by his relation, Jey Appa. He had the genius to discover that his southron horse would never compete with the Rajpoots, and he set about improving that arm to which the Mahrattas finally owed success. This sagacious chief soon perceived that the political position of the great states of Rajasthan was most favourable to his views of establishing his power in this

quarter. They were not only at variance with each other, but, as it has already appeared, were individually distracted with civil dissensions. The interference of the Rana of Oodipur had obtained for his nephew, Madhu Sing, the *gadi* of Jeypur; but this advantage was gained only through the introduction of the Mahrattas, and the establishment of a tribute, as in Marwar. This brave people felt the irksomeness of their chains, and wished to shake them off. Madhu Sing's reign was short: he was succeeded by Pertap, who determined to free himself from this badge of dependence. Accordingly, when Madaji Sindhia invaded his country, at the head of a powerful army, he called on the Rahtores for aid. The cause was their own; and they jointly determined to redeem what had been lost. As the bard of the Rahtores observes, they forgot all their just grounds of offence * against the Jeypur court, and sent the flower of their chivalry under the chieftain of Reah, whose fidelity has been so recently recorded. At Tonga (the battle is also termed that of Lalsont), the rival armies encountered. The celebrated Mogul chiefs, Ismael Beg and Hamdani added their forces to those of the combined Rajpoots, and gained an entire victory, in which the Rahtores had their full share of glory. The noble chief of Reah formed his Rahtore horse into a dense mass, with which he charged and overwhelmed the flower of Sindhia's army, composed of the regulars under the celebrated De Boigne.† Sindhia was driven from the field and retired to Muttra; for years he did not recover the severity of this day. The Rahtores sent a force under the Dhabaie, which redeemed Ajmeer, and annulled their tributary engagement.

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* *Put rekho Pertap ka*
No kote ca Nath,
Agla goona bukus dia
Abki pukero hath."

"The lord of the nine castles preserved the honour of Pertap. He forgave former offences, and again took him by the hand."

† "A la gauche la cavalerie Rhatore, au nombre de dix mille hommes, fondit sur les battaillons de M. de Boigne malgre le feu des batteries placees en avant de la ligne. Les pieces bien servies operaient avec succes; mais les Rhatores, avec le courage opiniatre qui les caracterise, s'acharnaient a poursuivre l'action, et venaient tuer les artilleurs jusques sur leurs pieces. Alors, les bataillons s'avancerent, et les Rhatores, qui avaient perdu beaucoup de monde, commencerent a s'ebranler. M. De Boigne, les voyant se retirer en desordre, reclama l'aide du centre; mais les prieres et les menaces furent egalement inutiles: les vingt-cinq bataillons Mogols, restes inactifs pendant toute la journee, et simples spectateours du combat, demeurerent encore immobiles dans ce moment decisif. Les deux armees se retirerent apres cette action sanglante, qui n'eut aucun resultat."

The genius of General Comte de Boigne ably seconded the energetic Sindhia. A regular force was equipped, far superior to any hitherto known, and was led into Rajpootana to redeem the disgrace of Tonga. The warlike Rahtores determined not to await the attack within their own limits; but marched their whole force to the northern frontier of Jeypur, and formed a junction with the Cutchwahas at the town of Patun *(Tuarvati)*. The words of the war-song, which the inspiring bards repeated as they advanced, are still current in Marwar; but an unlucky stanza, which a juvenile Charun had composed after the battle of Tonga, had completely alienated the Cutchwahas from their supporters, to whom they could not but acknowledge their inferiority :—

Oodul tyn Ambar ra Rekha Rahtoran.
'The Rahtores guarded the petticoats of Ambar.'

This stanza was retained in recollection at the battle of Patun; and if universal affirmation may be received as proof, it was the cause of its loss, and with it that of Rajpoot independence. National pride was humbled; a private agreement was entered into between the Mahrattas and Jeypureans, whereby the latter, on condition of keeping aloof during the fight, were to have their country secured from devastation. As usual, the Rahtores charged up to the muzzles of De Boigne's cannon, sweeping all before them: but receiving no support, they were torn piecemeal by showers of grape, and compelled to abandon the field. Then, it is recorded, the brave Rahtore shewed the difference between fighting on *purbhom*, or 'foreign land,' and on his own native soil. Even the women, it is averred, plundered them of their horses on this disastrous day; so heartbroken had the traitorous conduct of their allies rendered them. The Jeypureans paid dearly for their revenge, and for the couplet which recorded it :

Ghora, joora, pagri,
Mootcha, Kug, Marwar,
Panch rekna mel-lida.
Patun myn Rahtori.
Verbatim :
'Horse, shoes, turban,
'Mustachis, sword [of] Marwar,
'Five things surrendered were
'At Patun by the Rahtore.'

Both these "ribald strains" are still the taunt of either race: by such base agencies are thrones overturned, and heroism rendered abortive!

When the fatal result of the battle of Patun was communicated to Raja Bejoy Sing, he called a council of all his nobles,

at which the independent branches of his family, the Rajas of Bikaneer, Kishengurh, and Roopnagurh, assisted, for the cause was a common one. The Raja gave it as his own opinion, that it was better to fulfiil the terms of the former treaty, on the murder of Jey Appa, acknowledge the cancelled tribute, and restore Ajmeer, which they had recovered by a *coup de main*. His valorous chieftains opposed the degrading suggestion, and unanimously recommended that they should again try the chances of war ere they signed their humiliation Their resolution swayed the prince, who issued his summons to every Rahtore in his dominions to assemble under their Raja's banner, once more planted on the ensanguined plains of Mairta. A fine army was embodied ; not a Rahtore who could wield a sword, but brought it for service in the cause of his country ; and full thirty thousand men assembled on the 10th September 1790, determined to efface the recollections of Patun.

There was one miscreant of Rahtore race, who aided on this occasion to rivet his country's chains, and his name shall be held up to execration—Bahadoor Sing, the chief of Kishengurh. This traitor to his suzerain and race held, jointly with his brother of Roopnagurh, a domain of two hundred and ten townships : not a fief emanating from Marwar, but all by grant from the kings ; still they received the *teeka*, and acknowledged the supremacy of the head of Jodhpur. The brothers had quarrelled ; Bahadoor despoiled his brother of his share, and being deaf to all offers of mediation, Bejoy Sing marched and re-inducted the oppressed chief into his capital, Roopnagurh. The fatal day of Patun occurred immediately after ; and Bahadoor, burning with revenge, repaired to De Boigne, and conducted him against his native land. Roopnagurh, it may be supposed, was his first object and it will afford a good proof of the efficiency of the artillery of De Boigne, that he reduced it in twenty-four hours. Thence he proceeded to Ajmeer, which he invested : and here the proposal was made by the Raja for its surrender, and for the fulfilment of the former treaty. Madaji in person remained at Ajmeer, while his army, led by Lukwa, Jewa-dada, Sudasheo Bhao, and other Mahratta leaders of horse, with the brigades of De Boigne and eighty pieces of cannon, advanced against the Rahtores. The Mahrattas, preceding by one day's march the regulars under De Boigne, encamped at Nitrea. The Rahtore army was drawn out on the plains of Mairta, one flank resting on the village of Dangiwas. Five miles separated the Rahtores from the Mahrattas ; De Boigne was yet in the rear, his guns being deep sunk in the sandy bed of the Looni. Here a golden opportunity was lost, which could never be regained, of deciding 'horse to horse' the claims of supremacy ; but the

evil genius of the Rahtore again intervened : and as he was the victim at Patun to the jealousy of the Cutchwaha, so here he became the martyr to a meaner cause, the household jealousies of the civil ministers of his prince. It is customary in all the Rajpoot states, when the sovereign does not command in person, to send one of the civil ministers as his representative. Him the feudal chiefs will obey, but not one of their own body, at least without some hazard of dissension. Khoob Chund Singwi, the first minister, was present with the Raja at the capital : Gungaram Bindarri and Bheemraj Singwi were with the army. Eager to efface the disgrace of Patun, the two great Rahtore leaders, Seo Sing of Ahwa, and Maheedas of Asope, who had sworn to free their country or die in the attempt, demanded a general movement against the Mahrattas. This gallant impatience was seconded by all the other nobles as well as by a successful attack on the foragers of the enemy, in which the Mahrattas lost all their cattle. But it was in vain they urged the raging ardour of their clans, the policy of taking advantage of it, and the absence of De Boigne, owing to whose admirable corps and well-appointed park, the day at Patun was lost ; Bheemraj silenced their clamour for the combat by producing a paper, from the minister Khoob Chund, commanding them on their allegiance not to engage until the junction of Ismael Beg, already at Nagore. They fatally yielded obedience. De Boigne extricated his guns from the sands of Alneeawas, and joined the main body. That night the Bikaneer contingent, perceiving the state of things, and desirous to husband their resources to defend their own altars, withdrew. About an hour before day-break, De Boigne led his brigade to the attack, and completely surprised the unguarded Rajpoots. They were awakened by showers of grape-shot, which soon broke their position ; all was confusion ; the resistance was feeble. It was the camp of the irregular infantry and guns which broke, and endeavoured to gain Mairta ; and the civil commanders took to flight. The alarm reached the more distant quarters of the brothers in arms, the chiefs of Ahwa and Asope. The latter was famed for the immense quantity of opium he consumed ; and with difficulty could his companion awake him, with the appalling tidings, "the camp has fled, and we are left alone!"—"Well brother, let us to horse." Soon the gallant bands of both was ready ; and twenty-two chiefs of note *drank opium together* for the last time. They were joined by the leaders of other clans ; and first and foremost the brave Mairteas of Reah, of Alneeawas, Eerwah, Chanode, Govindgurh, in all four thousand Rahtores. When mounted and formed in one dense mass, the Ahwa chieftain shortly addressed

them. "Where can we fly, brothers? But can there be a Rahtore who has ties stronger than shame (*laj*)? If any one exist who prefers his wife and children to honour, let him retire." Deep silence was the only reply to this heroic appeal; and as the hand of each warrior was raised to his forehead, the Ahwa chief gave the word 'forward.' They soon came up with De Boigne's brigade, well posted, and defended by eighty pieces of cannon. "Remember Patun! was the cry, as, regardless of showers of grape, this heroic band charged up the cannon's mouth, driving every thing before them, cutting down the line which defended the guns, and passing on to assault the Mahrattas, who were flying in all directions to avoid their impetuous valour. Had there been a reserve at this moment, the day of Mairta would have surpassed that of Tonga. But here the skill of De Boigne, and the discipline of his troops, were an overmatch for valour unsustained by discipline and discretion. The Rahtore band had no infantry to secure their victory; the guns were wheeled round, the line was re-formed, and ready to receive them on their return. Fresh showers of shot and grape met their thinned ranks; scarcely one of the four thousand left the field. The chiefs of Asope, Ferwah, Chanode, Govindgurh, Alneeawas, Mouriro, and others of lesser note, were among the slain; and upon the heaps of wounded, surrounded by his gallant clan, lay the chief of Ahwa, pierced with seven-and-twenty wounds. He had lain insensible twenty-four hours, when an old servant, during the night, searched for and found him on the field. A heavy shower had fallen, which increased the miseries of the wounded. Blind and faint, the Thacoor was dragged out from the bodies of the slain. A little opiate revived him; and they were carrying him off, when they were encountered by Lukwa's *hurkaras*, in search of chiefs of note; the wounded Thacoor was conveyed to the headquarters at Mairta. Lukwa sent a surgeon to sew up his wounds; but he disdained the courtesy, and refused all aid, until the meanest of his wounded vassals was attended to. This brave man, when sufficiently recovered, refused all solicitation from his sympathizing foes that the usual rejoicing might be permitted, and that he would shave and perform the ablutions after sickness, till he should see his sovereign. The Raja advanced from his capital to meet him, and lavished encomiums on his conduct. He now took the bath, preparatory to putting on the honorary dress; but in bathing, his wounds opened afresh, and he expired.

Bheemraj Singwi received at Nagore, whither he had fled, a letter of accusation from his sovereign, on which he swallowed poison; but although he was indirectly the cause of the

defeat, by his supineness, and subsequent disgraceful flight, it was the minister at the capital whose treason prevented the destruction of the Mahrattas: Khoob Chund was jealous of Bheemraj; he dreaded being supplanted by him if he returned from Mairta crowned with success; and he therefore penned the despatch which paralysed their energies, enjoining them to await the junction of Ismael Beg.

Thus, owing to a scurrilous couplet of a bard, and to the jealousy of a contemptible court-faction, did the valiant Rahtores lose their independence—if it can be called lost—since each of these brave men still deems himself a host, when "his hour should come" to play the hero. Their spirit is not one jot diminished since the days of Tonga and Mairta.*

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* Three years ago I passed two delightful days with the conqueror of the Rajpoots, in the native vale of Chambery. It was against the *croix blanche* of Savoy, not the *orange flag* of the Southron, that four thousand Rajpoots fell martyrs to liberty; and althoug I wish the Comte long life, I may regret he had lived to bring his talents and his courage to their subjugation. He did them ample justice, and when I talked, of the field of Mairta, the remembrance of past days flitted before him, as he said "all appeared as a dream." Distinguished by his prince, beloved by a numerous and amiable family, and honoured by his fellow citizens, the years of the veteran, now numbering more than fourscore, glide in agreeable tranquillity in his native city, which, with oriental magnificence, he is beautifying by an entire new street, and a handsome dwelling for himself. By a singular coincidence, just as I am writing this portion of my narrative I am put in possession of a "Memoire" of his life, lately published, written under the eye of his son, the Comte Charles de Boigne. From this I extract his account of the battle of Mairta. It is not to be supposed that he could then have been acquainted with the secret intrigues which were arrayed in favour of the "*white cross*" on this fatal day.

"Les forces des Rajepoutes se composaient de trentemile cavaliers, de vingt-milie hommes d'infanterie reguliere, et de vingt-cinq pieces de cannon. Les Marhattes avaient une cavalerie egale en nombre a celle de l'ennemi, mais leur infanterie se bormait aux bataillons de M. De Boigne, soutenus, il est vrai, par quatre-vingt pieces d'artillerie. Le General examina la position de l'ennemi, il etudia le terrain et arreta son plain de bataile.

Le dix, avant le jour, la brigade recut l'ordre de marcher en avant, et elle surprit les Rajepoutes pendant qu'ils faisoient leurs ablutions du matin. Les premiers bataillons, avec cinquante pieces de canon tirant a mitraille, enfoncerant les lignes de l'ennemi et enleverent ses positions. Rohan, qui commandait l'aile droite, a la vue de ce premier avantage, sans avour recu aucun ordre, eut l'imprudence de s'avancer hors de la ligne du combat, a la tete de trois bataillons. La cavalerie Rahtore profitant de cette faute, fondit a l'instant sur lui et faillit lui couper sa retraite sur le gros de l'armee, qu'il ne parvint a rejoindre qu'avee ies plus grandes difficultes. Toute la cavalerie ennemie se mit alors en mouvement, et se jetant avec impetuosite sur la brigade, l'attaqua sur tous les cotes a la fois. Elle ent ete infailliblement exterminee sans la presence d'esprit de son chef. M. De Boigne s'etant apercu de l'erreur commise par son aile droite et prevoyant les suites qu'elle pouvait entrainer avait dispose sur le champ son infanterie en carre vide (holiow square); et par cette disposition, presentant partout un front a

By a careful investigation of the circumstances which placed these brave races in their present political position, the paramount protecting power may be enabled to appreciate them, either as allies or as foes; and it will demonstrate more effectually than mere opinions, from whatever source, how admirably qualified they are, if divested of control, to harmonize, in a very important respect, with the British system of government in the East. We have nothing to dread from them, individually or collectively; and we may engage their very hearts' blood in our cause against whatever foes may threaten us, foreign or domestic, if we only exert our interference when mediation will be of advantage to them, without offence to their prejudices. Nor is there any difficulty in the task; all honour the peacemaker, and they would court even arbitration if once assured that we had no ulterior views. But our strides have been rapid from Calcutta to Rajpootana, and it were well if they credit what the old Nestor of India (Zalim Sing of Kotah) would not, who, in reply to all my asseverations that we wished for no more territory, said, "I believe you think so; but the time will come when there will be but one *sicca* throughout India. You stepped in, Maharaj, at a lucky time; the *p'foot** was ripe and ready to be eaten, and you had only to take it bit by bit. It was not your power, so much as our disunion, which made you sovereign and will keep you so." His reasoning is not unworthy of attention, though I trust his prophecy may never be fulfilled.

Nov. 28.—Camp at Jhirrow, five coss (11 miles). On leaving Mairta, we passed over the ground sacred to "the four thousand," whose heroic deeds, demonstrating at once the Rajpoot's love of freedom and his claim to it, we have just related. We, this day, altered our course from the N.N.E., which would have carried us, had we pursued it, to the Imperial city, for a direction to the southward of east, in order to cross our own Aravali and gain Ajmeer. The road was excellent, the soil very fair; but though, there were symptoms of cultivation

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l'ennemi, elle opposa une resistance invincible aux charges furieuses des Rahtores, qui furent enfin forces de lacher prise. Aussitot l'infanterie reprit ses positions, et s'avancant avec son artillerie, elle fit une attaque generale sur toute la ligne des Rajepoutes. Deja sur les neuf heures, l'ennemi etait completement battu; une heure apres, les Mahrattes rent rippossession de son camp avec tous ses cannons et bagages; et pour couronner cette journee, a trois heures apres midi la ville de Mirtah fut prise d'assaut."—*Memoire sur la Carriere Militaire et Politique de M. le General Comte De Boigne. Chambery.* 1829.

* *P'foot* is a species of pumpkin, or melon, which bursts and flies into pieces when ripe. It also means *disunion*; and Zalim Sing, who always spoke in parables, compared the states of India to this fruit.

near the villages, the wastes were frightfully predominant; yet they are not void of vegetation; there is no want of herbage or stunted shrubs. The Aravali towered majestically in the distant horizon, fading from our view towards the south-east, and intercepted by rising grounds.

We had a magnificent *mirage* this morning: nor do I ever recollect observing this singularly grand phenomenon on a more extensive scale, or with greater variety of form. The morning was desperately cold; thermometer, as I mounted my horse, a little after sunrise, stood at 32°, the freezing point, with a sharp biting wind from the north-east. The ground was blanched with frost, and the water-skins, or *bhistis mashaks*, were covered with ice at the mouth. The slender shrubs, especially the milky *ak*, were completely burnt up; and as the weather had been hitherto mild, the transition was severely felt, by things animate and inanimate.

It is only in the cold season that the *mirage* is visible; the sojourners of Maroo call it the *see-kote*, or 'castles in the air.'* In the deep desert to the westward, the herdsmen and travellers through these regions style it *chittram*, 'the picture;' while about the plains of the Chumbul and Jumna they term it *dessaour*, 'the omen of the quarter.' This optical deception has been noticed from the remotest times. The prophet Isaiah alludes to it, when he says, "and the parched ground shall become a pool;"† which the critic has justly rendered, "and the *sehrab*‡ shall become real water." Quintus Curtius, describing the *mirage* in the Sogdian desert, says that "for the space of four hundred furlongs not a drop of water is to be found, and the sun's heat, being very vehement in summer, kindles such a fire in the sands, that everything is burnt up. There also arises such an exhalation, that the plains wear the appearance of a vast and deep sea," which is an exact description of the *chittram* of the Indian desert. But the *sehrab* and *chittram*, the true *mirage*, of Isaiah, differ from that illusion called the *see-kote*; and though the traveller will hasten to it, in

* Literally, 'The cold-weather castles.'

† Isaiah, chap. xxxv. v. 7.

‡ *Sehara* is 'desert;' *Sehrab*, 'the water of the desert,' a term which the inhabitants of the Arabian and Persian deserts apply to this optical phenomenon. The 18th v. chap. xli. of Isaiah is closer to the critic's version: "I will make the wilderness (*Schra*) a pool of water." Doubtless the translators of Holy Writ, ignorant that this phenomenon was called *Schrab*, 'water of the waste,' deemed it a tautological error; for translated literally, "and the water of the desert shall become real water," would be nonsense: they therefore lopped off the *ab*, water, and read *Sehra* instead of *Sehrab*, whereby the whole force and beauty of the prophecy is not merely diminished, but lost.

order to obtain a night's lodging, I do not think he would expect to slake his thirst there.

When we witnessed this phenomenon at first, the eye was attracted by a lofty opaque wall of lurid smoke, which seemed to be bounded by, or to rise from, the very verge of the horizon. By slow degrees, the dense mass became more transparent, and assumed a reflecting or refracting power: shrubs were magnified into trees; the dwarf *khyre* appeared ten times larger than the gigantic *amli* of the forest. A ray of light suddenly broke the line of continuity of this yet smoky barrier; and, as if touched by the enchanter's wand, castles, towers, and trees, were seen in an aggregated cluster, partly obscured by magnificent foliage. Every accession of light produced a change in the *chittram*, which from the dense wall that it first exhibited, had now faded into a thin transparent film, broken into a thousand masses, each mass being a huge lens; until at length the too vivid power of the sun dissolved the vision; castles, towers, and foliage, melted, like the enchantment of Prospero, into "thin air."

I had long imagined that the nature of the soil had some effect in producing this illusory phenomenon; especially as the *chittram* of the desert is seen chiefly on those extensive plains productive of the *saji*, or alkaline plant, whence by incineration the natives produce soda,* and whose base is now known to be metallic. But I have since observed it on every kind of soil. That these lands, covered with saline incrustations, tend to increase the effect of the illusion, may be concluded. But the difference between the *sehráb* or *chittram*, and the *see-kote* or *dessasur*, is, that the latter is never visible but in the cold season, when the gross vapours cannot rise; and that the rarefication, which gives existence to the other, destroys this, whenever the sun has attained 20° of elevation. A high wind is alike adverse to the phenomenon, and it will mostly be observed that it covets shelter, and its general appearance is a long line which is sure to be sustained by some height, such as a grove or village, as if it required support. The first time I observed it, was in the Jeypur country; none of the party had ever witnessed it in the British provinces. It appeared like an immense walled town with bastions, nor could we give credit to our guides, when they talked of the *see-kote*, and assured us that the objects were merely "castles in the air." I have since seen, though but once, this panoramic scene in motion, and nothing can be imagined more beautiful.

It was at Kotah, just as the sun rose, whilst walking on

* Properly a carbonate of soda.

the terraced roof of the garden-house, my residence. As I looked towards the low range which bounds the sight to the south-east, the hills appeared in motion, sweeping with an undulating or rotatory movement along the horizon. Trees and buildings were magnified, and all seemed a kind of enchantment. Some minutes elapsed before I could account for this wonder; until I determined that it must be the masses of a floating *mirage*, which had attained its most attenuated form, and being carried by a gentle current of air past the tops and sides of the hills, while it was itself imperceptible, made them appear in motion.

But although this was novel and pleasing, it wanted the splendour of the scene of this morning, which I never saw equalled but once. This occurred at Hissar, where I went to visit a beloved friend—gone, alas! to a better world,—whose ardent and honourable mind urged me to the task I have undertaken. It was on the terrace of James Lumsdaine's house, built amidst the ruins of the castle of Feroz, in the centre of one extended waste, where the lion was the sole inhabitant, that I saw the most perfect specimen of this phenomenon: it was really sublime. Let the reader fancy himself in the midst of a desert plain, with nothing to impede the wide scope of vision, his horizon bounded by a lofty black wall, encompassing him on all sides. Let him watch the first sunbeam break upon this barrier, and at once, as by a touch of magic, shiver it into a thousand fantastic forms, leaving a splintered pinnacle in one place, a tower in another, an arch in a third; these in turn undergoing more than kaleidescopic changes, until the "fairy fabric" vanishes. Here it was emphatically called *Hurchand Raja ca poori*, or, 'the city of Raja Hurchand,' a celebrated prince of the brazen age of India. The power of reflection, shewn by this phenomenon, cannot be better described, than by stating that it brought the very ancient *Aggaroa*,* which is thirteen miles distant, with its fort and bastions, close to my view.

The difference then between the *mirage* and the *see-kote* is that the former exhibits a horizontal, the latter a columnar or vertical stratification; and in the latter case, likewise, a contrast to the other, its maximum of translucency is the last stage of its existence. In this stage, it is only an eye accus-

* This is in the ancient province of Hariana, and the cradle of the Aggarwal race, now mercantile, and all followers of Hari or Vishnu. It might have been the capital of Aggrames, whose immense army threatened Alexander; with Agra it may divide the honour, or both may have been founded by this prince, who was also a *Porus*, being of Puru's race.

tomed to the phenomenon that can perceive it at all. I have passed over the plains of Meerut with a friend who had been thirty years in India, and he did not observe a *see-kote* then before our eyes: in fact, so complete was the illusion, that we only saw the town and fort considerably nearer. Monge gives a philosophical account of this phenomenon in Napoleon's campaign in Egypt; and Dr. Clarke perfectly describes it in his journey to Rosetta, when "domes, turrets, and groves, were seen reflected on the glowing surface of the plain, which appeared like a vast lake extending itself between the city and travellers." It is, on reviewing this account, that a critic has corrected the erroneous translation of the Septuagint; and further dilated upon it in a review of Lichtenstein's travels in Southern Africa,* who exactly describes our *see-kote*, of the magnifying powers of which he gives a singular instance. Indeed, whoever notices, while at sea, the atmospheric phenomena of these southern latitudes, will be struck by the deformity of objects as they pass through this medium: what the sailors term a fog-bank, is the first stage of our *see-kote*. I observed it on my voyage home; but more especially in the passage out. About six o'clock on a dark evening, while we were dancing on the waste, I perceived a ship bearing down with full sail upon us so distinctly, that I gave the alarm, in expectation of a collision; so far as I recollect, the helm was instantly up, and in a second no ship was to be seen. The laugh was against me—I had seen the "flying Dutchman,"† according to the opinion of the experienced officer on deck; and I believed it was really a vision of the mind: but I now feel convinced it was either the reflection of our own ship in a passing cloud of this vapour, or a more distant object therein refracted. But enough of this subject: I will only add, whoever has a desire to see one of the grandest phenomena in nature, let him repair to the plains of Mairta or Hissar, and watch, before the sun rises, the fairy palace of Hurchanda, infinitely grander and more imposing than a sun-rise upon the alpine Helvetia, which alone may compete with the *chittram* of the desert.

Jhirrow is a thriving village appertaining to a sub-vassal of the Mairtea chief of Reah. There was a small sheet of water within a musket-shot to the left of the village, on whose margin, peeping through a few neems and the evergreen jhal,

* See *Edinburgh Review*, vol. XXI, pp. 66 and 138.

† This phenomenon is not uncommon; and the superstitious sailor believes it to be the spectre of a Dutch pirate, doomed, as a warning and punishment, to migrate about these seas.

was erected an elegant, though small *chetri*, or cenotaph, of an ancestor of the possessor. The Thacoor is sculptured on his charger, armed at all points; and close beside him, with folded hands, upon the same stone, his faithful partner, who accompanied the warrior to Indra's abode. It bore the following epitaph: "on the 2nd Megsir, S. 1689 (A. D. 1633), Maharaja Jesswunt Sing attacked the enemy's (Arungzebe's) army, in which battle Thacoor Hernkurna Das, of the Mairtea clan, was slain. To him was erected this shrine, in the month of Megsir, S. 1697."

Water from wells is about thirty-five cubits from the surface; the strata as follows: four cubits of mixed sand and black earth; five of kunkur, or calcareous concretions; twenty of stiff clay and sand; six of indurated clay, with particles of quartz and mica.

Nov. 29th.—Alneeawas, five coss. Half-way, passed the town of Reah, so often mentioned as the abode of the chief of the Mairtea clan. It is large and populous, and surrounded by a well-constructed wall of the calcareous concrete already described, here called *morur*, and which resists the action of the monsoon. The works have a most judicious slope. The Thacoor's name is Buddun Sing, one of the eight great barons of Maroo. The town still bears the name of *Sheer Sing ca Reah*, who so gallantly defended to the death the rights of his young sovereign Ram Sing, against his uncle. A beautiful landscape is seen from the high ground on which the town stands, in the direction of the mountains; the intermediate space being filled with large villages, relieved by foliage, so unusual in these regions. Here I had a proof of the audacity of the mountaineers of the Aravali, in an inscription on a cenotaph, which I copied: "On Monday, the 3rd Magh, S. 1835 (A. D. 1779), Thacoor Bhopal Sing fell at the foot of his walls, defending them against the Mairs, having first, with his own hand, in order to save her honour, put his wife to death."* Such were the Mairs half a century ago, and they had been increasing in boldness ever since. There was scarcely a family on either side the range, whose estates lay its foot, whose cenotaphs do not bear similar inscriptions, recording the desperate raids of these mountaineers; and it may be asserted, that one of the greatest benefits we conferred on Rajpootana was the conversion of these numerous banditti, occupying some hundred towns, into peaceful, tax-paying subjects. We can say, with the great Chohan King, Beesildeva, whose monument

* A second inscription recorded a similar end of Sewah, the Baorie, who fell in another inroad of the Mairs, in S 1831.

still stands in Feroz's palace at Delhi, that we made them "carry water in the streets of Ajmeer;" and, still more, deposit their arms on the Rana's terrace at Oodipoor. We have, moreover, metamorphosed a corps of them from breakers, into keepers, of the public peace.

Between Reah and Alneeawas we crossed a stream, to which the name of the Looni* is also given, as well as to that we passed subsequently. It was here that De Boigne's guns are said to have stuck fast.

The soundings of the wells at Reah and Alneeawas presented the same results as at Jhirrow, with the important exception that the substratum was steatite, which was so universal in the first part of my journey from Jodhpur.

Alneeawas is also a fief of a Mairtea vassal. It is a considerable town, populous, and apparently in easy circumstances. Here again I observed a trait of devotion, recorded on an altar "to the memory of Sooni Mull," who fell when his clan was exterminated in the charge against the rival Champawuts, at Mairta, in the civil wars

Nov. 30*th.*—Govindgurh, distance three coss, or six miles. The roads generally good, though sometimes heavy; the soil of a lighter texture than yesterday. The castle and town of Govinda belong to a feudatory of the Joda clan; its founder, Govind, was grandson to Oodi *le gros*; or, as Akber dubbed him, the "Moota Raja," from his great bulk. Of this clan is the chief of Khyrwa, having sixteen townships in his fief: Bunai, and Musooda, with its "fifty-two townships," both now in Ajmeer; having for their present suzerain the "Sirkar Company Bahadur;" though in lapses they will still go to Jodhpur, to be made "belted knights." These places are beyond the range; but Poosangur, with its twelve villages; Beejathal, and other fiefs west of it, also in Ajmeer, might, at all events, be restored to their ancient princes, which would be considered as a great boon. There would be local prepossession to contend with, on the part of the British officers in charge of the district; but such objections must give way to views of general good.

This was another desperately cold morning; being unprovided with a great coat, I turned the *dugla*, or 'quilted brocade tunic,' sent me by the high-priest of Kaniya, to account. We had some capital runs this morning with the foxes of Maroo,

* I must deprecate criticism in respect to many of my geographical details. I find I have omitted this branch; but my health totally incapacitated me from reconstructing my map, which has been composed by the engraver from my disjoined materials. It is well known to all practical surveyors and geographers that none can do this properly but their author, who knows the precise value of each portion.

which are beautiful little animals, and larger than those of the provinces. I had a desperate chase after a hyæna on the banks of the Looni, and had fully the speed of him; but his topographical knowledge was too much for me, and he, at length, led me through a little forest of reeds or rushes, with which the banks of the river are covered for a great depth. Just as I was about giving him a spear, in spite of these obstacles, we came upon a blind nullah or 'dry rivulet,' concealed by the reeds; and *Baj Raj* (the royal steed) was thrown out, with a wrench in the shoulder, in the attempt to clear it: the *chirruk* laughed at us.

We crossed a stream half a mile west of Govindgurh, called the Saburmati, which, with another, the Sarasvati, joining it, issues from the Poshkur lake. The Saburmati is also called the Looni; its bed is full of micaceous quartzose rock. The banks are low, and little above the level of the country. Though water is found at a depth of twelve cubits from the surface, the wells are all excavated to the depth of forty, as a precautionary measure against dry seasons. The stratification here was—one cubit sand; three of sand and soil mixed; fifteen to twenty of yellow clayish sand; four of morur and fifteen of steatite and calcareous concretions with loose sand, mixed with particles of quartz.

Dec. 1st.—Lake of Poshkur, four coss; the thermometer stood at the freezing point this morning:—heavy sands the whole way. Crossed the Sarasvati near Naund; its banks were covered with bulrushes, at least ten feet in height—many vehicles were lading with them for the interior, to be used for the purposes of thatching—elephants make a feast among them. We again crossed the Sarasvati, at the entrance of the valley of Poshkur, which comes from Old (*boora*) Poshkur, four miles east of the present lake, which was excavated by the last of the Puriharas of Mundore. The sand, drifted from the plains by the currents of air, have formed a complete bar at the mouth of the valley, which is about one mile in breadth; occasionally the *teebas*, or sand-hills, are of considerable elevation. The summits of the mountains to the left were sparkling with a deep rose-coloured quartz, amidst which, on the peak of Naund, arose a shrine to 'the Mother.' The hills preserve the same character: bold pinnacles, abrupt sides, and surface thinly covered. The stratification inclines to the west; the deep of the strata is about twenty degrees. There is, however, a considerable difference in the colour of the mountains; those on the left have a rose tint: those on the right are of grayish granite, with masses of white quartz about their summits.

Poshkur is the most sacred lake in India; that of Mansur-

war in Thibet may alone compete with it in this respect. It is placed in the centre of the valley, which here becomes wider, and affords abundant space for the numerous shrines and cenotaphs with which the hopes and fears of the virtuous and the wicked amongst the magnates of India have studded its margin. It is surrounded by sand-hills of considerable magnitude, excepting on the east, where a swamp extends to the very base of the mountains. The form of the lake may be called an irregular ellipse. Around its margin, except towards the marshy outlet, is a display of varied architecture. Every Hindu family of rank has its niche here, for the purposes of devotional pursuits when they could abstract themselves from mundane affairs. The most conspicuous are those erected by Raja Maun of Jeypoor, Ahelya Bae, the Holkar queen, Jowahir Mull of Bhurtpur, and Beejoy Sing of Marwar. The cenotaphs are also numerous. The ashes of Jey Appa, who was assassinated at Nagore, are superbly covered; as are those of his brother Suntaji, who was killed during the siege of that place.

By far the most conspicuous edifice is the shrine of the creator Bramha, erected, about four years ago, by a private individual, if we may so designate Gocul Pauk, the minister of Sindhia; it cost the sum of 1,30,000 rupees (about £15,000), though all the materials were at hand, and labour could be had for almost nothing. This is the sole tabernacle dedicated to the ONE GOD which I ever saw or have heard of in India. The statue is quadrifrons: and what struck me as not a little curious was that the *sikhara*, or pinnacle of the temple, is surmounted by a cross. Tradition was here again at work. Before creation began, Brahma assembled all the celestials on this very spot, and performed the *Yuga*; around the hallowed spot, walls were raised, and sentinels placed to guard it from the intrusion of the evil spirits. In testimony of the fact, the natives point out the four isolated mountains, placed towards the cardinal points, beyond the lake, on which, they assert, rested the *kanats*, or cloth-walls of inclosure. That to the south is called *Rutnagir*, or 'the hill of gems,' on the summit of which is the shrine of Savittri. That to the north is *Nilagir*, or 'the blue mountain.' East, and guarding the valley, is the *Kutchacter Gir*; and to the west, *Sonachooru*, or 'the golden.' Nanda, the bull-steed of Mahadeva, was placed at the mouth of the valley, to keep away the spirits of the desert; while Kaniya himself performed this office to the north. The sacred fire was kindled: but Savittri, the wife of Brahma, was nowhere to be found, and as without a female the rites could not proceed, a young Goojari took the place of Savittri; who, on her return, was so enraged at the in-

dignity, that she retired to the mountain of gems, where she disappeared. On this spot a fountain gushed up, still called by her name; close to which is her shrine, not the least attractive in the precincts of Poshkur. During these rites, Mahadeva, or, as he is called, *Bhola Nath*, represented always in a state of stupefaction from the use of intoxicating herbs, omitted to put out the sacred fire, which spread, and was likely to involve the world in combustion; when Brahma extinguished it with the sand, and hence the *teelas* of the valley. Such is the origin of the sanctity of Poshkur. In after ages, one of the sovereigns of Mundore, in the eagerness of the chase, was led to the spot, and washing his hands in the fountain, was cured of some disorder. That he might know the place again, he tore his turban into shreds, and suspended the fragments to the trees, to serve him as guides to the spot—there he made the excavation. The Brahmins pretend to have a copper plate grant from the Purihara prince of the lands about Poshkur; but I was able to obtain only a Persian translation of it, which I was heretical enough to disbelieve. I had many grants brought me, written by various princes and chiefs, making provision for the prayers of these recluses at their shrines.

The name of Beesildeva, the famed Chohan king of Ajmeer, is the most conspicuous here; and they still point out the residence of his great ancestor, Aja Pal, on the *Nag-pahar*, or 'serpent-rock,' directly south of the lake, where the remains of the fortress of the Pali or Shepherd-king are yet visible. Aja Pal was, as his name implies, a *goat-herd* whose piety, in supplying one of the saints of Poshkur with daily libations of goat's milk, procured him a territory. Satisfied, however, with the scene of his early days, he commenced his castle on the serpent-mount; but his evil genius knocking down in the night what he erected in the day, he sought out another site on the opposite side of the range; hence arose the far-famed Aja-meer. Manika Rae is the most conspicuous connecting link of the Chohan Pali kings, from the goat-herd founder to the famed Beesildeva.* Manika was slain in the first century of the Hijra, when "the arms of Walid conquered to the Ganges;" and Beesildeva headed a confederacy of the Hindu kings, and chased the descendants of Mahmood from Hindusthan, the origin of the recording column at Delhi. Beesildeva, it appears from inscriptions, was the contemporary of Rawul Tejsi, the monarch of Cheetore, and grandfather of the Ulysses of Rajasthan, the brave Samarsi, who fell with 13,000 of his kindred in

* Classically, Visaladeva.

aid of the last Chohan Prithi-raj, who, according to the genealogies of this race, is the fourth in descent from Beesildeva. If this is not sufficient proof of the era of this king, be it known that Udya Dit, the prince of the Pramaras (the period of whose death, or A. D. 1096, has now become a datum),* is enumerated amongst the sovereigns who served under the banners of the Chohan of Ajmeer.

The 'Serpent-rock' is also famed as being one of the places where the wandering Bhartrihari, prince of Oojein, lived for years in penitential devotion; and the slab which served as a seat to this royal saint, has become one of the objects of veneration. If all the places assigned to this brother of Vicrama were really visited by him, he must have been one of the greatest tourists of antiquity, and must have lived to an antediluvian old age. Witness his castle at Sehwan, on the Indus; his cave at Alwar: his '*thans*' at Aboo, and at Benares. We must, in fact, give credit to the couplet of the bards, "the world is the Pramara's." There are many beautiful spots about the Serpent-mount, which, as it abounds in springs, has, from the earliest times, been the resort of the Hindu sages, whose caves and hermitages are yet pointed out, now embellished with gardens and fountains. One of the latter issuing from a fissure in the rock, is sacred to the Muni Agasta, who performed the very credible exploit of drinking up the ocean.

St. George's banner waved on a sand-hill in front of the cross on Brahma's temple, from which my camp was separated by the lake; but though there was no defect of legendary lore to amuse us, we longed to quit "the region of death," and hie back to our own lakes, our cutter, and our gardens.

Dec. 2nd.—Ajmeer, three coss. Proceeded up the valley, where lofty barriers on either side, covered with the milky toor (*cactus*), and the "yellow aonla of the border," shewed they were but the prolongation of our own Aravali. Granite appeared of every hue, but of a stratification so irregular as to bid defiance to the geologist. The higher we ascended the valley, the loftier became the sand-hills, which appeared to aspire to the altitude of their granitic neighbours. A small rill poured down the valley; there came also a cold blast from the north, which made our fingers tingle. Suddenly we changed our direction from north to east, and ascending the mountain, surveyed through a gap in the range the far-famed Dhar-ool Khyr. The view which thus suddenly burst upon us was magnificent. A noble plain, *with trees*, and the expansive lake of Beesildeva, lay at our feet, while 'the fortress of the goat-herd'

* See *Transactions* of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. i., p. 223.

crowned the crest of a majestic isolated hill. The point of descent affords a fine field for the mineralogist; on each side, high over the pass, rise peaks of reddish granite, which are discovered half way down the descent to be reposing on a blue micaceous slate, whose inclination is westward, at an angle of about 25° with the horizon. The formation is the same to the southward, but the slate there is more compact, and freer from mica and quartz. I picked up a fragment of black marble; its crystals were large and brilliant.

Passed through the city of Ajmeer, which, though long a regal abode, does not display that magnificence we might have expected, and like all other towns of India, exhibits poverty and ease in juxtaposition. It was gratifying to find that the finest part was rising under the auspices of the British Government and the superintendent of the province, Mr. Wilder. The main street, when finished, will well answer the purpose intended—a place of traffic for the sons of commerce of Rajasthan, who, in a body, did me the honour of a visit: they were contented and happy at the protection they enjoyed in their commercial pursuits. With the prosperity of Bhilwara, that of Ajmeer is materially connected; and having no interests which can clash, each town views the welfare of the other as its own: a sentiment which we do not fail to encourage.

Breakfasted with Mr. Wilder, and consulted how we could best promote our favourite objects—the prosperity of Ajmeer and Bhilwara.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Ajmeer.—Ancient Jain Temple.—Its architecture analyzed.—Resemblances between it and the Gothic and Saracenic.—Fortress of Ajmeer.—Its lakes.—Source of the Loonі River.—Relics of the Chohan kings.—Quit Ajmeer.—Bunai, its castle.—Deorah.—Dabla.—Bunera.—Raja Bheem.—Sketch of his family.—His estate.—Visit to the castle.—Bhilwara.—Visit of the Merchants.—Prosperity of the town.—Mandel.—Its lake.—Arjah.—Poork.—Mines of Durreba.—Canton of the Poorawuts.—Antiquity of Poork.—The Babas, or Infants of Newar.—Rasmi.—Reception by the Peasantry of Newar.—The Suhailea and Kullus.—Tract of the Bunas River.—Mairta.—Visit to the source of the Beris.—The Oodi Sagur.—Enter the valley.—Appearance of the capital.—Site of the ancient Ahar.—Cenotaphs of the Rana's ancestry.—Traditions regarding Ahar.—Destroyed by volcanic eruption.—Remains of antiquity.—Oilman's Caravansera.—Oilman's Bridge.—Meeting with the Rana.—Return to Oodipoor.

AJMEER has been too long the haunt of Moguls and Pathans, the Goths and Vandals of Rajasthan, to afford much scope to the researches of the antiquity. Whatever time had spared of the hallowed relics of old, bigotry has destroyed, or raised to herself altars of materials, whose sculptured fragments serve now as disjointed memorials of two distinct and distant eras: that of the independent Hindu, and that of the conquering Mahomedan, whose eedgas and mosques, mausoleums and country-seats, constructed from the wrecks of aboriginal art, are fast mouldering to decay. The associations they call forth afford the only motive to wish their preservation; except one "relic of nobler days and noblest arts" which, though impressed with this double character, every spectator must desire to rescue from the sweeping sentence:—the edifice before the reader, a visit to which excited these reflexions. Let us rather bless than execrate the hand, though it be that of a Turk, which has spared, from whatever motive, one of the most perfect, as well as the most ancient, monuments of Hindu architecture. It is built on the western declivity of the fortress, and called *Urai din ca jhopra*, or 'the shed of two-and-a-half days,' from its having occupied (as tradition tells) its magical builders only this short period. The skill of

the Pali or Takshac architect, the three sacred mounts of these countries abundantly attest: nor had he occasion for any mysterious arts, besides those of masonry, to accomplish them. In discussing the cosmogony of the Hindus, we have had occasion to convert their years into days; here we must reverse the method, and understand (as in interpreting the sacred prophecies of Scripture) their days as meaning years. Had it, indeed, been of more humble pretensions, we might have supposed the monotheistic Jain had borrowed from the Athenian legislator, Cecrops, who ordained that no tomb should consist of more work than ten men could finish in *three days*; to which Demetrius, the Phalerian, sanctioned the addition of a little vessel to contain the ghost's victuals.*

The temple is surrounded by a superb screen of Saracenic architecture, having the main front and gateway to the north. From its simplicity, as well its appearance of antiquity, I am inclined to assign the screen to the first dynasty, the Ghorian sultans, who evidently made use of native architects. The entrance arch is of that wavy kind, characteristic of what is termed the Saracenic, whether the term be applied to the Alhambra of Spain, or the mosques of Delhi; and I am disposed, on close examination, to pronounce it Hindu. The entire facade of this noble entrance, which, I regret I cannot have engraved, is covered with Arabic inscriptions. But, unless my eyes much deceived me, the small frieze over the apex of the arch contained an inscription in Sanscrit, with which Arabic has been commingled, both being unintelligible. The remains of a minaret still maintain their position on the right flank of the gate with a door and steps leading to it for the *muezzim* to call the faithful to prayers. A line of smaller arches of similar form composes the front of the screen. The design is chaste and beautiful, and the material, which is a compact limestone of a yellow colour, admitting almost of as high a polish as the *jaune antique*, gave abundant scope to the sculptor. After confessing and admiring the taste of the Vandal architect, we passed under the arch to examine the more noble production of the Hindu. Its plan is simple and consonant with all the more ancient temples of the Jains. It is an extensive saloon, the ceiling supported by a quadruple range of columns, those of the centre being surmounted by a range of vaulted coverings; while the lateral portion, which is flat, is divided into compartments of the most elaborate sculpture. But the columns are most worthy of attention; they are unique in design, and with the exception of the cave-temples, probably amongst the

* See Archbishop Potter's *Archæologia*, vol, i, p. 192.

oldest now existing in India. On examining them, ideas entirely novel, even in Hindu art, are developed. Like all these portions of Hindu architecture, their ornaments are very complex, and the observer will not fail to be struck with their dissimilarity; it was evidently a rule in the art to make the ornaments of every part unlike the other, and which I have seen carried to great extent. There may be forty columns, but no two are alike. The ornaments of the base are peculiar, both as to form and execution; the lozenges, with the rich tracery surmounting them, might be transferred, not inappropriately, to the Gothic cathedrals of Europe. The projections from various parts of the shaft (which on a small scale may be compared to the corresponding projections of the columns in the *Duomo* at Milan), with the small niches still containing the statues, though occasionally mutilated, of the Pontiffs of the Jains, give them a character which strengthens the comparison, and which would be yet more apparent, if we could afford to engrave the details. The elegant *Camacumpa*, the emblem of the Hindu Ceres, with its pendant palmyra-branches, is here lost, as are many emblematical ornaments, curious in design and elegant in their execution. Here and there occurs a richly-carved corbeille, which still further sustains the analogy between the two systems of architecture; and the capitals are at once strong and delicate. The central vault, which is the largest, is constructed after the same fashion as that described at Nadole, but the concentric annulets, which in that are plain, in this are one blaze of ornaments, which with the whole of the ceiling is too elaborate and complicated for description. Under the most retired of the compartments, and nearly about the centre, is raised the *mumba*, or pulpit, whence the Moollah enunciates the dogma of Mahomed, "there is but one God:" and for which he dispossessed the Jain, whose creed was like his own, the unity of the God-head. But this is in unison with the feeling which dictated the external metamorphosis. The whole is of the same materials as already described, from the quarries of the Aravali close at hand, which are rich in every mineral as well as metallic production:

"I ask'd of *Time* for whom *those* temples rose,
That prostrate by his hand in silence lie;
His lips disdain'd the myst'ry to disclose,
And borne on swifter wing, he hurried by!
The broken columns *whose*? I ask'd of *Fame*:
(Her kindling breath gives life to works sublime;)
With downcast looks of mingled grief and shame,
She heaved the uncertain sigh, and follow'd *Time*.
Wrapt in amazement o'er the mouldering pile,
I saw *Oblivion* pass with giant stride;

And while his visage wore *Pride's* scornful smile,
Haply *thou knew'st*, then tell me, *whose* I cried,
Whose these vast domes that ev'n in ruin shine?
I reck not whose, he said: they *now are mine*."

Shall we abandon them to cold "oblivion," or restore them to a name already mentioned, Sumprithi, or Swamprithi, the *Shah Jehan** of a period two centuries before the Christian era, and to whom the shrine in Komulmeer is ascribed? Of one thing there is no doubt, which is, that both are Jain, and of the most ancient models: and thus advertised, the antiquary will be able to discriminate between the architectural systems of the Saivas and the Jains, which are as distinct as their religions.

Having alluded to the analogy between the details in the columns and those in our Gothic buildings (as they are called), and surmised that the Saracenic arch is of Hindu origin, I may further, with this temple and screen before us, speculate on the possibility of its having furnished some hints to the architects of Europe. It is well known that the Saracenic arch has crept into many of those structures called Gothic, erected in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when a more florid style succeeded to the severity of the Saxon or Roman; but, I believe, it has been doubted whence the Saracens obtained their model: certainly it was neither from Egypt nor Persia. The early caliphs of Bagdad, who were as enlightened as they were powerful, kept alive the light of science when Europe was in darkness; and the most accomplished noble who accompanied our Cœur de Lion, though "brave as his sword," was a clown compared to the infidel Saladin, in mind as well as manners. The influence of these polished foes on European society it would be superfluous to descant upon. The lieutenants of these caliphs, who penetrated from the delta of the Indus to the Ganges from four to five centuries prior to this event, when Walid's arms triumphed simultaneously on the Indus and the Ebro, produced no trifling results to the arts. This very spot, Ajmeer, according to traditional couplets and the poetic legends of its ancient princes, the Chohans, was visited by the first hostile force which Islam sent across the Indus, and to which Manika Rae fell a sacrifice. What ideas might not this Jain temple have afforded to "*the Light* of Ali!" for Roshun Ali is the name preserved of him who, "in ships landing at Anjar," marched through the very heart of India, and took "Gurh Beetli," the citadel of Ajmeer, by assault. The period is one of total darkness in the

* Both epithets imply 'Lord of the Universe,' and of which the name of 'Prithi-raj,' that of the last Chohan emperor, is another version.

history of India, save for the scattered and flickering rays which emanate from the chronicles of the Chohans and Ghelotes. But let us leave the temple, and slightly describe the castle of Manika Rae, on whose battlements an infidel's arrow of Roshun's army reached the heir of the Chohan; since which "Lot," for such was his name, has been adopted amongst the lares and penates of this celebrated race. This was the first Rajpoot blood which the arms of conversion shed, and the impression must have been strong to be thus handed down to posterity.

The mind, after all, retires dissatisfied: with me it might be from association. Even the gateway, however elegant, is unsuitable to the genius of the place. Separately considered, they are each magnificent; together, it is as if a modern sculptor were (like our actors of the last age) to adorn the head of Cato with a peruke. I left this precious relic, with a malediction upon all the spoilers of art—whether the Thane who pillaged Minerva's portico at Athens, or the Toork who dilapidated the Jain temple at Ajmeer.*

The reader will see as much of this far-famed fortress as I did; for there was nothing to induce me to climb the steep, where the only temple visible was a modern-looking white-washed mosque; lifting its dazzling minarets over the dingy antique towers of the Chohan: "he who seven times captured the Sultan, and seven times released him." The hill rises majestically from its base to the height of about eight hundred feet; its crest encircled by the ancient wall and towers raised by Ajipal:

> There was a day when they were young and proud,
> Banners on high, and battles passed below;
> But they who fought are in a bloody shroud;
> And those which waved are shredless dust ere now,
> And the bleak battlements shall bear no further blow;†

unless the Cossack should follow the track of Roshun Ali or Mahmood, and try to tear the British flag from the *kangras* of Ajmeer. On the north side a party of the superintendent's were unlocking the latent treasures in the bowels of the mountain. The vein is of lead; a sulphuret, or galena.

I have already mentioned the lake, called after the excavator, the *Beesil Talab*. It is about eight miles in circumference, and besides the beauty it adds to the vale of Ajmeer, it has a source of interest being the fountain of the Looni, which pursues its silent course until it unites with the eastern arm of

* Chance obtained me the drawing of this temple; I wish it had also given me the name of its author to grace the page.

† *Childe Harold*, Canto III.

the Delta of the Indus: the point of outlet is at the northern angle of the *Doulout Bagh*, 'the gardens of wealth,' built by Jehingir for his residence when he undertook to conquer the Rajpoots. The water is not unwholesome, and there are three outlets at this fountain-head for the escape of the water fitting its periodical altitudes. The stream, as its parent source, is thence called the Sagur-Mati. It takes a sweep northward by Bhowtah and Pisangun, and close to where we crossed it, at Govindgurh, it is joined by the Sarasvati from Poshkur; when the united waters (at whose *sangum*, or confluence, there is a small temple to the *manes*) is called the Looni.

The gardens, erected on the embankment of the lake, must have been a pleasant abode for "the king of the world," while his lieutenants were carrying on the war against the Rana: but the imperial residence of marble, in which he received the submissions of that prince, through his grandson, and the first ambassador sent by England to the Mogul, are now going fast to decay. The walk on which His Majesty last paraded, in the state-coach, sent by our James the First, are now overgrown with shrubs.

The stratification of the rock, at the point of outlet, would interest the geologist, especially an extensive vein of mica, adjoining another of almost transparent quartz.

Eastward of this lake about a mile, is another named the *Anah-sagur*, after the grandson of Beesildeo, who has left the reputation of great liberality, and a contrast with Visala. The vestiges of an island are yet seen in the lake, and upon its margin; but the materials have been carried away by the Goths. There are two small buildings on the adjacent heights, called "the annulets of Khwaja Kootub," and some other saint.

Such are the wonders in the environs of Dhar-ool Khyr, "celebrated in the history of the Moguls, as well as of the Hindus." But my search for inscriptions to corroborate the legends of the Chohans proved fruitless. I was, however, fortunate enough to add to my numismatic treasures some of the currency of these ancient kings, which give interest to a series of the same description, all appertaining to the Buddhists or Jains. The inscription, occupying one side, is in a most antique character, the knowledge of which is still a desideratum; the reverse bears the effigies of a horse, the object of worship to the Indo-Scythic Rajpoot. It is not improbable that the Agnicula Chohan may have brought these letters with him from higher Asia. Researches in these countries for such monuments may yet discover how far this conjecture is correct. At Poshkur I also found some very ancient coins. Had the

antiquary travelled these regions prior to the reign of Arungzebe, he would have had a noble field to explore: many coins were destroyed by this bigot, but many were buried under ground, which time or accident may disclose. He was the great foe of Rajpoot fame; and well might the bard, in the words of the Cambrian minstrel, bid

"Ruin, seize the ruthless king."

They did repay his cruelties by the destruction of his race. In one short century from this tyrant, who grasped each shore of the peninsula, the Mogul power was extinct; while the oppressed Rajpoots are again on the ascendant. But the illiterate and mercenary Afghan, "the descendant of the lost tribes of Israel,"* if we credit their traditions, may share the iniquity with Arungzebe; for they fulfilled literally a duty which their supposed forefathers pertinaciously refused, and made war against every graven image. Had they even spared us a few of the monsters, the joint conceptions of the poet and the sculptor, I might have presented some specimens of griffins (*gras*) and demons almost of a classical taste; but the love of mischief was too strong even to let these escape; the shoe was applied to the prominent features of everything which represented animation.

By a medium of several meridian observations, I made the latitude of Ajmeer 26° 19′ north; its longitude, by time and measurement from my fixed meridian, Oodipur, 74° 40′, nearly the position assigned to it by the father of Indian geography, the justly-celebrated Rennell.

Dec. 5th.—At day-break we left the towers of Manika Rae, enveloped in mist, and turned our horses' heads to the southward, on our return to Oodipur. While at Ajmeer, I received accounts of the death of the prince of Kotah, and did intend to proceed direct to that capital, by Shahpoora and Boondi; but my presence was desired by the Rana to repair the dilapidations which only two months' absence had occasioned in the political fabric which I had helped to reconstruct. Other interesting objects intervened; one, a visit to the new castle of Bheemgurh, erecting in Mairwarra to overawe the Mairs; the other to compose the feuds which raged between the sectarian merchants of new mart, Bhilwara, and which threatened to destroy all my labour. We made two marches to Bunai, in which there was nothing to record. Bunai is the residence of a Rahtore chieftain, whose position is rather peculiar. Being placed within the district of Ajmeer, and paying an annual quit-rent to the British, he may consider the Company as his

* They claim Ishmael as their common ancestor.

sovereign; but although this position precludes all political subordination to the chief of the race, the tie would be felt and acknowledged, on a lapse, in the anxiety for the usual *teeka* of recognition to his successor, from the Raja of Marwar. I argue on knowledge of character and customs, though it is possible this individual case might be against me.

The castle of Bunai is a picturesque object in these level plains; it is covered with the *cactus*, or prickly pear, so abundant on the east side of the Aravali. This was anciently the residence of a branch of the Purihara princes of Mundore, when held as a fief of the Chohans of Ajmeer; and from it originated a numerous mixed class, called the Purihara Menas, a mixture of Rajpoot and aboriginal blood.

Dec. 6th.—Deorah, near the northern bank of the Khari, the present boundary of Ajmeer and Mewar. From Ajmeer to Deorah, the direction of the road is S.S.E., and the distance forty miles. This important district in the political geography of Rajpootana, which, with the posts of Neemuch and Mhow, is the connecting link between the British dominions on the Jumna and in the Dekhan, was obtained by cession from Sindhia in 1818. A glance at the map is suffidient to shew its importance in our existing connexion with Rajpootana. The greatest breadth of the district is between the Aravali west, and the Bunas east, and measures about eighty miles. The greatest length is between the city of Ajmeer and Jhak, a post in Mairwarra, measuring about forty miles. The narrowest portion is that where we now are, Deorah, whence the Kishengurh frontier can be seen over a neck of land of about twelve miles in extent. Within these bounds, a great portion of the land is held by feudal chieftains paying a quit-rent, which, I believe, is fixed. I had to settle a frontier dispute at Deorah, regarding the right of cultivating in the bed of the Khari, which produces very good melons. The soil of Ajmeer cannot be called rich, and is better adapted for the lighter than the richer grains. Marks of war and rapine were visible throughout.

Dec. 7th.—Dabla.—This town was a sub-fee of Bunera; but the vassal, a Rahtore, had learned habits of insubordination during Mahratta influence, which he could not or would not throw aside. In these he was further encouraged by his connexion by marriage with the old ruler of Kotah, who had exemplified his hostility to the Dabla vassal's liege lord by besieging his castle of Bunera. Having so long disobeyed him, his Rajpoot blood refused to change with the times; and though he condescended, at the head of his twenty retainers, to perform homage on stated days, and take his allotted posi-

tion in the Bunera durbar, he refused to pay the quit-rent, to which numerous deeds proved his suzerain had a right. Months passed away in ineffectual remonstrances; it was even proposed that he should hold the inferior dependencies free of quit-rent, but pay those of Dabla. All being in vain, the demand was increased to the complete surrender of Dabla, which elicited a truly Rajpoot reply: "his head and Dabla were together." This obstinacy could not be tolerated; and he was told that though one would suffice, if longer withheld, both might be required. Like a brave Rahtore, he had defended it for months against a large Mahratta force, and Dabla was vauntingly called "*the little Bhurtpur.*" Too late he saw his error, but there was no receding; and though he at length offered a nuzzerana, through the mediation of the Kotah Vakeel, of 20,000 rupees, to obtain the Rana's investiture, it was refused, and a surrender was insisted on. Being an important frontier-post, it was retained by the Rana, and compensation was made to Bunera. Every interest was made for him through the Nestor of Kotah, but in vain; his obstinacy offered an example too pernicious to admit of the least retrocession, and Dabla was forthwith incorporated with the appanage of the heir-apparent, Jowan Sing.

Almost the whole of this, the Bednore division, of 360 townships, is occupied by Rahtores, the descendants of those who accompanied Jeimul to Mewar: the proportion of feudal to fiscal land therein is as three to one. It is a rich and fertile tract, and, it is to be hoped, will maintain in ease and independence the brave men who inhabit it, and who have a long time been the sport of rapine.

I received a visit from the chief vassal of the Bednore chief, then at the capital; and as I found it impossible to visit Mairwarra, I subsequently deputed Captain Waugh, who was hospitably received and entertained at Bednore. He hunted, and played the *holi* with the old baron, who shews at all times the frankness of his race: but it being the period of the Saturnalia, he was especially unreserved; though he was the greatest stickler for etiquette amongst my many friends, and was always expatiating on the necessity of attending to the gradations of rank.

Dec. 8th.—Bunera.—The castle of Bunera is one of the most imposing feudal edifices of Mewar, and its lord one of the greatest of its chieftains. He not only bears the title of *Raja*, but has all the state-insignia attached thereto. His name happens to be the same as that of his sovereign,—his being Raja Bheem, the prince's Rana Bheem,—to whom he is nearly related, and but for blind chance might have been

lord of all the Seesodias. It may be recollected that the chivalrous antagonist of Arungzebe, the heroic Rana Raj, had two sons, twins, if we may so term sons simultaneously born, though by different mothers. The incident which decided the preference of Jey Sing to Bheem has been related; the circumstances of the latter's abandoning his country to court fortune under the Imperial standard,—his leading his Rajpoot contingent amongst the mountains of Candahar—and his death by dislocation of the spine, through urging his horse at speed amongst the boughs of a tree. The present incumbent of Bunera is the descendant of that Raja Bheem, who was succeeded in the honors of his family by his son, Sooraj, killed whilst heading his contingent at the storm of Beejapur. The infant son of Sooraj had four districts assigned to him, all taken from his suzerain, the Rana. In such esteem did the emperor hold the family, that the son of Sooraj was baptized Sultan. He was succeeded by Sirdar Sing, who, on the breaking up of the empire, came under the allegiance of his rightful sovereign the Rana. Rae Sing and Hamir Sing complete the chain to my friend, Raja Bheem, who did me the honour to advance two miles from Bunera to welcome and conduct me to his castle. Here I had a good opportunity of observing the feudal state and manners of these chiefs within their own domains, during a visit of three hours at Bunera. I was, moreover, much attached to Raja Bheem, who was a perfectly well-bred and courteous gentleman, and who was quite unreserved with me. From his propinquity to the reigning family, and from his honours and insignia being the gift of the king's, he had been an object of jealousy to the court, which tended much to retard the restoration of his authority over his sub-vassals of Bunera; the chief of Dabla is one instance of this. I found little difficulty in banishing the discord between him and his sovereign, who chiefly complained of the Bunera kettledrums beating, not only as he entered the city, but as far as the *Porte*,—the sacred *Tripolia*; and the use of *Chamur* in his presence. It was arranged that these emblems of honour, emanating from the great foes of Mewar, should never be obtruded on the eye or ear of the Rana; though within his own domain the Bunera chieftain might do as he pleased. This was just; and Raja Bheem had too much good sense not to conciliate his "brother and cousin," Rana Bheem, by such a concession, which otherwise might have been insisted upon. The estate of Bunera is in value 80,000 rupees of annual rent, one-half of which is in sub-infeudation, his vassals being chiefly Rahtores. The only service, performed by Raja Bheem, is the contributing a quota for the commercial mart of Bhilwara, with

the usual marks of subordination, personal duty and homage to the Rana. His estate is much impoverished from its laying in the very track of the free-booters; but the soil is excellent, and time will bring hands to cultivate it, if we exercise a long and patient indulgence.

The "velvet cushion" was spread in a balcony projecting from the main hall of Bunera; here the Raja's vassals were mustered, and he placed me by his side on the *gadi*. There was not a point of his rural or domestic economy upon which he did not descant, and ask my advice, as his "adopted brother." I was also made umpire between him and my old friend the baron of Bednore, regarding a marriage-settlement, the grand-daughter of the latter being married to the heir of Bunera. I had, besides, to wade through old grants and deeds to settle the claims between the Raja and several of his sub-vassals; a long course of disorder having separated them so much from each other as to obliterate their respective rights. All these arbitrations were made without reference to my official situation, but were forced upon me merely by the claims of friendship; but it was a matter of exultation to be enabled to make use of my influence for the adjustment of such disputes, and for restoring individual as well as general prosperity. My friend prepared his gifts at parting; I went through the forms of receiving, but waived accepting them: which may be done without any offence to delicacy. I have been highly gratified to read the kind reception he gave to the respected Bishop Heber, in his tour through Mewar. I wonder, however, that this discerning and elegant-minded man did not notice the peculiar circumstance of the Raja's teeth being fixed in with gold wire, which produces rather an unpleasant articulation.

Bunera adjoins the estates of the Rahtores, and is no great distance from those of the Sangawuts and Jugawuts, which lie at the base of the Aravali. All require a long period of toleration and unmolested tranquillity to emerge from their impoverished condition. My friend accompanied me to my tents, when I presented to him a pair of pistols, and a telescope with which he might view his neighbours on the mountains: we parted with mutual satisfaction, and, I believe, mutual regret.

Dec. 9th.—Bhilwara.—I encamped about half-a-mile from *our* good town of Bhilwara, which was making rapid strides to prosperity, notwithstanding drawbacks from sectarian feuds; with which, however, I was so dissatisfied, that I refused every request to visit the town until such causes of retardation were removed. I received a deputation from both parties at my tents, and read them a lecture for their benefit, in which I lamented the privation of the pleasure of witnessing their un-

alloyed prosperity. Although I reconciled them to each other, I would not confide in their promises until months of improvement should elapse. They abided by their promise, and I fulfilled mine when the death of the Boondi prince afforded an opportunity, *en route* to that capital, to visit them. My reception was far too flattering to describe, even if this were the proper place. The sentiments they entertained for me had suffered no diminution when Bishop Heber visited the town. But his informant (one of the merchants), when he said it ought to have been called *Tod-gunj*, meant that it was so intended, and actually received this appellation: but it was changed, at my request, and on pain of withdrawing my entire support from it. The Rana, who used to call it himself in conversation "*Tod Sahib ca bustee*," would have been gratified; but it would have been wrong to avail myself of his partiality. In all I was enabled to do, from my friendship, not from my official character, I always feared the dangers to his independence from such precedent for interference.

Dec. 10*th*.—Mandel.—I deviated from the direct course *homewards* (to Oodipur) to visit this beautiful spot, formerly the head of a flourishing district; but all was dilapidated. The first revenue, derived from Mandel, was expended on the repairs of the dam of its lake, which irrigates a great extent of rice-land. The Goths had felled most of the fine trees which had ornamented its dams and margin; and several gardens, houses, as well as that on the island in the lakes, were in ruins. Not many years ago, a column of victory said to have been raised by Beesildeva of Ajmeer, in consequence of a victory over the Ghelotes, graced this little isle. Mandel is now rising from its ruins, and one of the exiles was so fortunate as to find a vessel containing several pieces of gold and ornaments, in excavating the ruins of his ancient abode, though not buried by him. It involved the question of manorial rights, of which the Rana waived the enforcement, though he asserted them. To-day I passed between Pansil and Arjah, the former still held by a Suktawut, the latter now united to the fisc. I have already related the feud between the Suktawuts and the Poorawuts in the struggle for Arjah, which is one of the most compact castles in Mewar, with a domain of 52,000 Bigas or 12,000 acres, attached to it, rendering it well worth a contest; but the Suktawuts had no right there, say the Poorawuts; and in fact it is in the very heart of their lands.

Dec. 11*th*.—Poorh.—This is one of the oldest towns of Mewar, and if we credit tradition, anterior in date to Vicrama. We crossed the Kotaserri to and from Mandel, passing by the tin and copper mines of Dureeba, and the Poorawut estate

of Peetawas. *Poorh* means *par eminence*, 'the city,' and anciently the title was admissible; even now it is one of the chief fiscal towns. It is in the very heart of the canton inhabited by the *Babas*, or 'infants' of Mewar, embracing a circle of about twenty-five miles diameter. The broken chain of mountains, having Bunera on the northern point and Goorla to the south, passes transversely through this domain, leaving the estate of Bagore, the residence of Sheodan Sing, west, and extending to the S. E. to Mungrope, across the Beris. The policy which dictated the establishment of an isolated portion of the blood-royal of Mewar in the very centre of the country was wise; for the Babas rarely or ever mix with the politics of the feudatory chieftains, home or foreign. They are accordingly entrusted with the command of all garrisons, and head the feudal quotas as the representative of their sovereign. They have a particular seat at court, the *Baba ca Ole* being distinct from the 'chieftains', and in front. Though they inhabit the lands about Poorh, it is not from these they derive their name, but as descendants from Pooru, one of the twenty-five sons of Rana Oodi Sing, that blot in the scutcheon of Mewar.

About a mile east of Poorh there is an isolated hill of blue slate, in which I found garnets imbedded. I have no doubt persevering adventurers would be rewarded; but though I tried them with the hammer, I obtained none of any value. They are also to be obtained on the southern frontier of Kishengurh and Ajmeer, about Serwar. I received the visits of the 'infant' of Goorlah and Gadermala, both most respectable men, and enjoying good estates, with strong castles, which I passed the next day.

Dec. 12th.—Rasmi, on the Bunas river.—We had a long march through the most fertile lands of Mewar, all belonging to the Rana's personal domain. The progress towards prosperity is great; of which Rasmi, the head of a tuppa or sub-division of a district, affords evidence, as well as every village. On our way, we were continually met by peasants with songs of joy, and our entrance into each village was one of triumph. The patels and other rustic officers, surrounded by the ryots, came out of the villages; while the females collected in groups, with brass vessels filled with water gracefully resting on their heads, stood at the entrance, their scarfs half covering their faces, chaunting the *suhailea*; a very ancient custom of the Hindu cultivator on receiving the superior, and tantamount to an acknowledgment of supremacy. Whether vanity was flattered, or whether a better sentiment was awakened, on receiving such tokens of gratitude, it is

not for me to determine; the sight was pleasing, and the custom was general while I travelled in Mewar. The females, bearing the *kullus* on their heads, were everywhere met with. These were chiefly the wives and daughters of the cultivators, though not unfrequently those of the Rajpoot sub-vassals. The former were seldom very fair, though they had generally fine eyes and good persons. We met many fragments of antiquity at Rasmi. Captain Waugh and the doctor were gratified with angling in the Bunas for trout; but as the fish would not rise to the fly, I sent the net, and obtained several dozens: the largest measured seventeen inches, and weighed seventy rupees, or nearly two pounds.

Dec. 16*th.*—Mairtea.—After an absence of two months, we terminated our circuitous journey, and encamped on the ground whence we started, all rejoiced at the prospect of again entering "the happy valley." We made four marches across the *do-ab*, watered by the Beris and the Bunas rivers; the land naturally rich, and formerly boasting some large towns, but as yet only disclosing the germs of prosperity. There is not a more fertile tract in India than this, which would alone defray the expenses of the court if its resources were properly husbanded. But years must first roll on, and the peasant must meet with encouragement, and a reduction of taxation to the lowest rate; and the lord-paramount must alike be indulgent in the exaction of his tribute. Our camels were the greatest sufferers in the march through the desert, and one-half were rendered useless. I received a deputation conveying the *Rana's* congratulations on my return "home," with a letter full of friendship and importunities to see me: but the register of the heavens,—an oracle consulted by the Rajpoot as faithfully as Moore's Almanack by the British yeoman—shewed an unlucky aspect, and I must need halt at Mairtea, or in the valley, until the signs were more favourable to a re-entry into Oodipur. Here we amused ourselves in chalking out the site of our projected residence on the heights of Toos, and in fishing at the source of the Beris. Of this scene I present the reader with a view; and if he allows his imagination to ascend the dam which confines the waters of the lake, he may view the *Oodisagur*, with its islets; and directing his eye across its expanse, he may gain a bird's-eye view of the palace of the Kesar of the Seesodias. The dam, thrown across a gorge of the mountains, is of enormous magnitude and strength, as is necessary, indeed to shut in a volume of water twelve miles in circumference. At its base, the point of outlet, is a small hunting-seat of the Rana's, going to decay for want of funds to repair it, like all those on the Tiger Mount and in the

valley. Nor is there any hope that the revenues, burthened as they are with the payment of a clear fourth in tribute, can supply the means of preventing further dilapidation.

Dec. 19*th*.—Tired of two days' idleness, we passed through the portals of Dobari on our way to Ar, to which place the Rana signified his intention of advancing in person, to receive and conduct me "home:" an honour as unlooked-for and unsolicited as it was gratifying. Oodipur presents a most imposing appearance when approached from the east. The palace of the Rana, and that of the heir-apparent, the great temple, and the houses of the nobles, with their turrets and cupolas rising in airy elegance, afford a pleasing contrast with the heavy wall and pierced battlements of the city beneath. This wall is more extensive than solid. To remedy this want of strength, a chain of fortresses has been constructed, about gunshot from it; commanding every road leading thereto, which adds greatly to the effect of the landscape. These castellated heights contain places of recreation, one of which belongs to Saloombra; but all wear the same aspect of decay.

Ar, or Ahar, near which we encamped, is sacred to the manes of the princes of Oodipur and contains the cenotaphs of all her kings since the valley became their residence; but as they do not disdain association, either in life or death, with their vassals, Ar presents the appearance of a thickly-crowded cemetery, in which the mausoleums of the Ranas stand pre-eminent in "the place of great faith." The renowned Umra Sing's is the most conspicuous; but the cenotaphs of all the princes, down to the father of Rana Bheem, are very elegant, and exactly what such structures ought to be; namely, vaulted roofs, supported by handsome columns raised on lofty terraces, the architraves of enormous single blocks, all of white marble, from the quarries of Kankerowli. There are some smaller tombs of a singularly elaborate character, and of an antiquity which decides the claims of Ar to be considered as the remains of a very ancient city. The ground is strewed with the wrecks of monuments and old temples, which have been used in erecting the sepulchres of the Ranas. The great city was the residence of their ancestors, and is said to have been founded by Asaditya upon the site of the still more ancient capital of Tamba-nagari, where dwelt the Tuar ancestors of Vicramaditya, before he obtained Awinti, or Oojein. From Tamba-nagari its name was changed to Anundpoor, 'the happy city,' and at length to Ahar, which gave the patronymic to the Ghelote race, *viz*., Aharya. The vestiges of immense mounds still remain to the eastward, called the *Dhool-kote*, or 'fort' destroyed by 'ashes' (*dhool*) of a volcanic eruption. Whether the lakes

of the valley owe their origin to the same cause which is said to have destroyed the ancient Ahar, a more skilful geologist must determine. The chief road from the city is cut through this mound; and as I had observed fragments of sculpture and pottery on the excavated sides, I commenced a regular opening of the mound in search of medals, and obtained a few with the effigies of an animal, which I fancied to be a lion, but others the *gadha*, or ass, attributed to Gundharvasen, the brother of Vicrama, who placed this impress on his coins, the reason of which is given in a long legend. My impious intentions were soon checked by some designing knaves about the Rana, and I would not offend superstition. But the most superficial observer will pronounce Ar to have been an ancient and extensive city, the walls which enclose this sepulchral abode being evidently built with the sculptured fragments of temples. Some shrines, chiefly Jain, are still standing, though in the last stage of dilapidation, and they have been erected from the ruins of shrines still older, as appears from the motley decorations, where statues and images are inserted with their heads reversed, and Mahavira and Mahadeva come into actual contact: all are in white marble. Two inscriptions were obtained; one very long and complete, in the nail-headed character of the Jains; but their interpretation is yet a desideratum. A topographical map of this curious valley would prove interesting, and for this I have sufficient materials. The *Taili-ca-Serai* would not be omitted in such a map, as adding another to the many instances I have met with, among this industrious class, to benefit their fellow-citizens. The "Oilman's Caravanserai" is not conspicuous for magnitude; but it is remarkable, not merely for its utility, but even for its elegance of design. It is equidistant from each of the lakes. The *Taili-ca-Pool*, or "Oilman's Bridge," at Noorabad, is, however, a magnificent memorial of *the trade*, and deserves preservation; and as I shall not be able now to describe the region (Gwalior) where it stands, across the Asin, I will substitute it for the Serai, of which I have no memorial. These *Tailis* (oilmen) perambulate the country with skins of oil on a bullock, and from hard-earned pence erect the structures which bear their name. India owes much to individual munificence.

The planets were adverse to my happy conjunction with the Sun of the Hindus: and it was determined that I should pass another day amongst the tombs of Ahar; but I invoked upon my own devoted head all the evil consequences, as in this case I was the only person who was threatened. To render this opposition to the decree less noxious it was agreed that I should make my *entree* by the southern, not by the eastern

porte, that of the sun. The Rana came, attended by his son, his chiefs, his ministers, and in fact, all the capital in his train. The most hearty welcomes were lavished upon us all. "*Rama! Rama! Tod Sahib!*" (the Hindu greeting) resounded from a thousand throats, while I addressed each chief by name. It was not a meeting of formality, but of well-cemented friendship. My companions, Capt. Waugh and Dr. Duncan, were busy interchanging smiles and cordial greetings, when the Rana, requesting our presence at the palace next day, bade us adieu. He took the direct road to his palace, while we, to avoid evil spirits, made a detour by the southern portal, to gain our residence, the garden of Rampeari.

APPENDIX

Translations of Inscriptions, chiefly in the Nail-headed character of the Tukshac Races and Jains, fixing eras in Rajpoot history.

No. I.

Memorial of a Gete or Jit prince of the fifth century, discovered 1820, in a temple at Kunswa, near the Chumbul river, south of Kotah.

May the Jitha be thy protector! What does this Jith resemble? which is the vessel of conveyance across the waters of life, which is partly white, partly red? Again, what does it resemble, where the hissing-angered serpents dwell? What may this Jitha be compared to, from whose root the roaring flood descends? Such is the Jith; by it may thou be preserved. (1)

The fame of RAJA JIT I now shall tell, by whose valour the lands of SALPURA (2) are preserved. The fortunes of Raja Jit are as flames of fire devouring his foe. This mighty warrior JIT SALINDRA (2) is beautiful in person, and from the strength of his arm esteemed the first amongst the tribes of the mighty; makes resplendent, as does the moon, the earth, the dominions of SALPURI. The whole world praises the JIT prince, who enlarges the renown of his race, sitting in the midst of haughty warriors, like the lotus in the waters, the moon of the sons of men. The foreheads of the princes of the earth worship the toe of his foot. Beams of light irradiate his countenance, issuing

from the gems of his arms of strength. Radiant is his array; his riches abundant; his mind generous, and profound as the ocean. Such is he of SARYA (3) race, a tribe renowned amongst the tribes of the mighty, whose princes were ever foes to treachery, to whom the earth surrendered her fruits, and who added the lands of their foes to their own. By sacrifice, the mind of this lord of men has been purified; fair are his territories, and fair is the FORTRESS OF TAKHYA (4). The string of whose bow is dreaded, whose wrath is the reaper of the field of combat; but to his dependents he is as the pearl on the neck; who makes no account of the battle, though streams of blood run through the field. As does the silver lotus bend its head before the fierce rays of the sun, so does his foe stoop to him, while the cowards abandon the field.

From this lord of men *(Narapati)* SALINDRA sprung DEVANGLI, whose deeds are known even at *this remote period.*

From him was born SUMBOOKA, and from him DEGALI, who tied two wives of YADU race (5), and by one a son named VIRA RINDRA, pure as a flower from the fountain.

Amidst groves of *amba*, on whose clustering blossoms hang riads of bees, that the wearied traveller might repose, was this fice erected. May it, and the fame of its founder, continue while ocean rolls, or while the moon, the sun, and hills endure. Samvat 997.—On the extremity of MALWA, the minster (MINDRA) was erected on the banks of the river TAVELI, by SALICHANDRA (6), son of VIRACHANDRA.

Whoever will commit this writing to memory, his sins will be obliterated. Carved by the sculptor SEVANARYA, son of DWARASIVA, and composed by BUTENA, chief of the bards.

(Note 1.)—In the prologue to this valuable relic, which superficially viewed would appear a string of puerilities, we have conveyed in mystic allegory the mythological origin of the Jit or Gete race. From the members of the chief of the gods ISWARA or Mahadeva, *the god of battle*, many races claim birth; the warrior from his arms; the Charun from his spine; the prophetic Bhat *(Vates)* from his tongue; and the Gete or Jit, derive theirs from his tiara, which, formed of his own hair, is called *Jitha.* In this tiara, serpents, emblematic of TIME (kal) and DESTRUCTION, are wreathed; also implicative that the *Jits* who are of *Takshac*, of the serpent race, are thereby protected. The "roaring flood" which descends from this *Jitha* is the river goddess, Ganga, daughter of Mera, wife of Iswara. The mixed colour of his hair, which is partly white, partly of reddish *(panduranga)* hue, arises from his character of ARDHNARI, of Hermaphroditus. All these characteristics, the god of war must have been brought by the Scythic Gete from the Jaxartes, where they worshipped him as the Sun *(Balnath)* and as XAMOLSCIS *(Yama*, vulg. *Jama)* the infernal divinity.

The 12th Chapter of the Edda, in describing BALDER, the second son of Odin, particularly dwell on the beauty of his hair, whence "the *whitest of all vegetables is called the eyebrow of Balder, on the columns of whose temples there are verses engraved, capable of recalling the dead to life.*"

How perfectly in unison is all this of the Jits of Jutland and the Jits of Rajasthan. In each case the hair is the chief object of admiration; of Balnath as Balder and the magical effect of the Runes is not more powerful than that attached by the chief of the Scalds of our Gete prince at the end of this inscription, fresh evidences in support of my hypothesis, that many of the Rajpoot races and Scandinavians have a common origin—that origin, Central Asia.

(Note 2.)—Salpoora is the name of the capital of this Jit prince, and his epithet of Sal-indra is merely titular, as the Indra, or lord of Sal-poori, "the city of Sal," which the fortunate discovery of an inscription raised by Komarpal, king of Anhulwarra *(Nehrwalla* of D'Anville) dated S. 1207, has enabled me to place "at the base of the Sewaluk Mountains." In order to elucidate this point, and to give the full value to this record of the Jit princes of the Punjab, I append (No. 5) a translation of the Nehrwalla conqueror's inscription, which will prove beyond a doubt that these JIT princes of SALROORI in the *Punjab*, were the leaders of that very colony of the YUTI from the Jaxartes, who in the fifth century, as recorded by De Guignes, crossed the Indus and possessed themselves of the Punjab; and, strange to say, have again risen to power, for the Sikhs *(disciples)* of Nanuk are almost all of Jit origin.

(Note 3.)—Here this Jit is called of SARYA SACHA, *branch* or *ramification* of the *Saryas*; a very ancient race which is noticed by the genealogists synonimously with the SARIASPA, one of the thirty-six royal races, and very probably the same as the SARWYA of the Komarpal Charitra, with the distinguished epithet "the flower of the martial races" *(Sarwya cshatrya tyn Sar)*.

(Note 4.)—"The fortress of Takshac." Whether this TAKSHAC-NAGARI, or castle of the Tak, is the stronghold of SALPOORI, or the name given to a conquest in the environs of the place, whence this inscription, we can only surmise, and refer the reader to what has been said of Takitpoora. As I have repeatedly said, the Taks and Jits are one race.

(Note 5.)—As the Jits intermarried with the Yadus at this early period, it is evident they had forced their way amongst the thirty-six royal races, though they have again lost this rank. No Rajpoot would give a daughter to a Jit, or take one from them to wife.

(Note 6.)—Salichandra is the sixth in descent from the first-named prince, JIT SALINDRA, allowing twenty-two years to each descent = 132 —S. 597, date of ins.—S. 465—56 = A.D. 409; the period of the colonization of the Punjab by the Getes, Yuti, or Jits, from the Jaxartes.

No. II.

Translation of an inscription in the Nail-headed character relative to the Jit race, discovered at Ram Chundrapoora, six miles east of Boondee, in digging a well. It was thence conveyed, and deposited by me in the Museum of the Royal Asiatic Society.

To my foe, salutation! This foe of the race of JIT, CATHIDA (1), how shall I describe, who is resplendent by the favour of the round bosom of ROODRANI (2), and whose ancestor, the warrior TUKHYA (3), formed the garland on the neck of Mahadeva. Better than this foe on the earth's surface, there is none; therefore to him I offer salutation. The sparkling gems on the coronets of kings irradiate the nail of his foot.

Of the race of BOTENA (4) RAJA THOT was born; his fame expanded through the universe.

Pure in mind, strong in arm, and beloved by mankind, such was CHANDRASEN (5). How shall he be described, who broke the strength of his foe, on whom when his sword swims in fight, he appears like a magician. With his subjects he interchanged the merchandize of liberality, of which he reaped the fruits. From him, whose history is fair, was[1] born KRITIKA, the deeds of whose arm were buds of renown, forming a necklace of praise in the eyes of mankind. His queen was dear to him as his own existence—how can she be described? As the flame is inseparable from the fire, so was she from her lord—she was the light issuing from the sun—her name GOON-NEWASA (6), and her actions corresponded with her name. By her he had two sons, like gems set in bracelets, born to please mankind. The eldest was named SOOKUNDA, the younger DERUKA. Their fortunes consumed their foes: but their dependents enjoyed happiness. As the flowers of Calp-vriesha is beloved by the gods, so are these brothers, by their subjects, granting their requests, and increasing the glory of the race whence they sprung.—(A useless descriptive stanza left out.)

DERUKA had a son, KUHLA, and his was DHUNIKA, whose deeds ascended high— who could fathom the intentions of mankind—whose mind was deep as the ocean—whose ever-hungry faulchion expelled from their mountains and forests the MEENA tribes, leaving (7), them no refuge in the three worlds, levelling their retreats to the ground. His quiver was filled with crescent-formed arrows—his sword, the climber (*vela*) (8), of which pearls are the fruit. With his younger brother, Dewaka, he reverences gods and Brahmins—and with his own wealth performs a sacrifice to the sun.

For the much-beloved's (his wife) pleasure this was undertaken. Now the river of ease, life and death, is crossed over, for this abode will devour the body of the foe, into which the west wind wafts the fragrant perfume from the sandal-covered bosom of Lacshmi (9): while from innumerable lotus the gale from the east comes laden with aroma, the hum of the bees as they hang clustering on the flowers of the *padhul* is pleasing to the ear.

So long as Soomeru stands on its base of golden sands, so long may this dwelling endure. So long as the wind blows on the *koonjeris* (10) supporters of the globe, while the firmament endures, or while Lacshmi (11) causes the palm to be extended, so long may his praise and this edifice be stable.

KUHLA (12) formed this abode of virtue, and east thereof a temple to Iswara. By ACHIL, son of the mighty prince YASOOVERMA (13), has its renown been composed in various forms of speech.

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[1] (*Note* 1.)—Qu. If this Jit is from (*dā*, the mark of the genitive case) Cathay? the land of the *Cathæ* foes of Alexander, and probably of the Cathi of the Saurashtra peninsula, alike Scythic as the Jit, and probably the same race originally?

(*Note* 2.)—Roo-Irani, an epithet of the martial spouse of Harar-Sira, the god of war, whom the Jit in the preceding inscription invokes.

(*Note* 3.)—Here we have another proof of the Jit being of Takshac race; this, at the same time, has a mythological reference to the serpent (*takhya*), which forms the garland of the warlike divinities.

(*Note* 4.)—Of this race I have no other notice, unless it should mean the race (*sula*) was from *Butan*.

(*Note* 5.)—Chandraseo is celebrated in the history of the Pramaras as the founder of several cities, from two of which, *Chandrabhaga*, at the foot of the central plateau of India, in Northern Malwa, and CHANDRAVATI, the ruins of which I discovered at the foot of the Aravali near Aboo, I possess several valuable memoria, which will, ere long, confirm the opinions I have given of the *Takshac* architect.

(*Note* 6.)—The habitation of virtues.

(*Note* 7.)—This allows, these foresters always had the same character.

(*Note* 8.)—Vela is the climber or ivy, sacred to Mahadeva.

(*Note* 9.)—Lacshmi, the *ajaya* or sea-nymph, is feigned residing amongst the waters of the lotus-covered lake. In the hot weather the Rajpoot ladies dip their corsets into an infusion of sandal wood, hence the metaphor.

(*Note* 10.)—Koonjris are the elephants who support the eight corners of the globe.

(*Note* 11.)—Lacshmi is also dame Fortune, or the goddess of riches, whence this image.

(*Note* 12.)—Kuul is the fifth in descent from the *opponent* of the Jit.

(*Note* 13.)—Without this name this inscription would have been half of half its value. Fortunately various inscriptions on stone and copper procured by me from Oojein, settled the era of the death of this prince (A. S. 1191), which will alike answer for Achil, his son, who was most likely one of the chieftains of KUHLA, who appears to have been of the elder branch of the Pramaras, the foe of the Jit invaders.

No. III.

Inscription in the Nail-headed character of the Mori Princes of Cheetore, taken from a column on the banks of the lake Mansurwur, near that city.

By the lord of waters may thou be protected! What is there which resembles the ocean, on whose margin the red buds of honey-yielding trees are eclipsed by swarms of bees, whose beauty expands with the junction of numerous streams? What is like the ocean, inhaling the perfume of the Paryata (1), who was compelled to yield as tribute, wine, wealth, and ambrosia (2)? Such is the ocean!—may he protect thee!

Of a mighty gift, this is the memorial. This lake enslaves the minds of beholders, over whose expanse the varied feathered tribe skim with delight, and whose banks are studded with every kind of tree. Falling from the lofty-peaked mountain, enhancing the beauty of the scene, the torrent rushes to the lake. The mighty sea-serpent (3), o'erspent with toil in the churning of the ocean, repaired to this lake for repose.

On this earth's surface was Mahéswara (4), a mighty prince, during whose sway the name of foe was never heard, whose fortune was known to the eight quarters (5) for whose arm victory retained no secrets. He was the light of the land. The praises of the race of Pushpa (6) were determined by Bhahma's own hands.

Fair, filled with pride, sporting amidst the shoals of the lotos is the swan led by his lord, from whose countenance issue rays of glory; such Raja Bhoja (7), a skilful swimmer in the ocean of battle, even to where the Ganga pours in her waters (8) and he ga, whose abode is Avanti (9). With faces resplendent as the moon, on whose lips yet marked with the wound of their husband's arm, the captive wives of his foes, even in their hearts does Kola (then) dwell. By his arm he removed the apprehensions of his enemies; he considered them as errors, to be expunged. His appeared each created of fire. He could instruct even the navigator (10) of the ocean.

From him was descended Raja Bhoj (11). How shall he be described; he, who in the field of battle divided with his sword the elephant's head, the pearl from whose brain (12) now adorns his breast; who devours his foe as does Rahoo (13) the sun or moon, who to the verge of space erected edifices in token of victory.

From him was a king whose name was Mahi, who was circumspect with good qualities, and with whom fortune took up her abode. One day, he met an aged man; his appearance made him reflect that his frame was as a shadow evanescent; that the spirit which dwelleth it was like the seed of the sacred *Kadamba* (14); that the riches of royalty were brittle as a blade of grass, and that man was like a lump exposed in the light of day. Thus ruminating, for the sake of his race, who had gone before him, and for the sake of good works, he made this lake, whose waters are expansive and depth unfathomable. When I look on this ocean-like lake, I ask myself, if it may not be this which is destined to cause the final doom. (15).

The warriors and chiefs of Raja Mahi (16) are men of skill and valour—pure in their lives and faithful. Raja Mahi is a heap of virtues; the chief who enjoys his favour may count all the gifts of fortune. When the head is inclined on his lotus foot, the grain of sand which adheres becomes an ornament thereto. Such is the lake, shaded with trees, frequented by birds, which the man of fortune, Srijan Raja Mahi, with great labour formed. By the name of its lord (*Mahi*), that of the lake (*sarovar*) is known to the world. By him versed in the *vaikhari*, Pushpa, the son of Naga Bhatt, these stanzas have been framed. *Seventy had elapsed beyond seven hundred years (Samvat)*, when the lord of men, the King of Malwa (17), formed this lake. By Sekabit, grandson of Khetri Kayath, were these lines cut.

Note 1.—The Parvat is also called the Har-singar, or *Ornament of the night*. Its flowers made into collars and bracelets. Its aroma is very delicate, and the blossom dies in a few hours.

Note 2.—*Amrita*, the food of the immortals, obtained at the churning of the ocean. The contest for this amongst the gods and demons is well known. *Vrishpati*, or Sookra, regent of the planet Venus, on this occasion lost an eye; and hence this Polyphemus has left the nickname of *Sookr-acharya* to all who have but one eye.

Note 3.—His name *Matoti*.

Note 4.— A celebrated name in the genealogies of the TAKSHAC *Pramara*, of which the *Mori* is a conspicuous *Sacha* or branch. He was the founder of the city of *Maheswar*, on the southern bank of the Nerbudda, which commands the ford leading from *Avanti* and *Dhar* the chief cities of the Mori Pramaras to the Dekhan.

Note 5.— The ancient Hindu divided his planisphere into eight quarters, on which he placed the Koonjerries or elephants, for its support.

Note 6.—TWASTHA, or Takshac, is the celebrated *Nagvansa* of antiquity. All are *Agnicalas*. Cheetore, if erected by the Takshac artist, has a right to the appellation Herbert has so singularly assigned it, *viz.*, *Tacsila* built by the Tak; it would be the *Tok-silla-nagar*, the 'stone fort of the Takshac,' alluded to in No 1.

Note—7. Raja Bheem, the lord of *Avanti* or Oojein, the king of Malwa, is specially celebrated in the Jain annals. A son of his led a numerous colony into Marwar, and founded many cities between the Looni river and the Aravali mountains. *All became proselytes to the Jain faith*, and their descendants, who are amongst the wealthiest and most numerous of these mercantile sectarians, are proud of their Rajpoot descent; and it tells when they are called to responsible offices, when they handle the sword as well as the pen.

Note 8.—*Lunga-Sagar*, or the Island at the mouth of the Ganges, is specified by name as the limit of Bheem's conquests. His memoria may yet exist even there.

Note 9.—*Avanti-Nath*, Lord of Avanti or Objein.

Note 10.—*Paryataca*, a navigator.

Note 11.—RAJA BHOJ. There is no more celebrated name than this in the annals and literature of the Rajpoots; but there were three princes of the Pramara race who bore it. The period of the last Raja Bhoj, father of Udyadit, is now fixed, by various inscriptions discovered by me, A. D. 1035, and the dates of the two others I had from a leaf of a very ancient Jain MS., obtained at the temple of Nadole, *viz.*, S. 631 and 721, or A. D. 575 and 665. Abul Fazil gives the period of the first Bhoj as S. 545; but, as we find that valuable MS. of the period of the last BHOJ confirmed by the date of this inscription of his son MAUN, *viz.*, S. 770, we may put perfect confidence in it, and now consider the periods of the three, *viz.*, S. 631, 721 and 1091—A. D. 567, 665, and 1035—as fixed points in Rajpoot chronology.

Note 12.—In the head of that class of elephants called Bhadra, the Hindoo says, there is always a large pearl.

Note 13.—The monster Rahoo of the Rajpoot, who swallows the sun and moon, *causing eclipses* is *Fenris* the wolf of the Scandinavians. The *Asi* carried the same ideas West, which they taught within the Indus.

Note 14.—Kadama is a very delicate flower, that decays almost instantaneously.

Note 15.—*Maha-pralaya!*

Note 16.—The MS. annals of the Rana's family state that their founder, Bappa, conquered Cheetore from MAUN MORI. This inscription is therefore invaluable as establishing the era of the conquest of Cheetore by the Ghelotes, and which was immediately following the first irruption of the arms of Islam, as rendered in the annals of Mewar.

Note 17.—As RAJA MAUN is called *King of Malwa*, it is evident that Cheetore had superseded both Dhar and Avanti as the seat of power. A palace of *Maun Mori* is still shewn as one of the antiquities in Cheetore.

No. IV.

Inscription in the Devanagari character, discovered in January 1822 in Puttun Somnath, on the coast of the Saurashtra Peninsula, fixing the era of the sovereigns of BALABHI, the '*Balhara kings of Nehrwalla*.'

Adoration to the Lord of all, to *the light of the universe* (1), Adoration to the form indescribable; Him! at whose feet all kneel.

In the year of Mohummud 662, and in that of Vicrama 1320, and that of Srimad Balabhi 945, and the Siva Singa Samvat 151 (2), Sunday, the 13th (*badi*) of the month Asar.

The chiefs of Anhulpoor Patun obeyed by numerous princes (here a string of titles), Bhataric Srimad Arjuna Deva, of Chauluc race (3), his minister Sri Maldeva, with all the officers of government, together with *Hormuz of Belacool*, of the government of *Ameer Rookn-oo-Din*, and of *Khwaja Ibrahim* of *Hormuz*, son of the Admiral *(Nakhoda) Noor-oo Din Feeroz*, together with the CHAURA chieftains Palookdeva, Ranik Sri Someswadeva, Ramdeva, Bheemsing, and all the Chauras and other tribes of rank being assembled.

NANSI RAJA, of the Chaura race inhabiting *Deo Puttun* (4), assembling all the merchants (5), established ordinances for the repairs and the support of the temples, in order that flowers, oil, and water should be regularly supplied to *Rutna-iswara* (6), *Choul-iswara* (7), and the shrine of *Pulinda-Devi* (8), and the rest, and for the purpose of erecting a wall round the temple of Somnath with a gateway to the north. Keelndeo, son of Modula, and Loonsi, son of Johan, both of the Chaura race, together with the two merchants, Balji and Kurna, bestowed the weekly profits of the market for this purpose. While sun and moon endure, let it not be resumed. Feeroz is commanded to see this order obeyed, and that the customary offerings on festivals are continued, and that all surplus offerings and gifts be placed in the treasury for the purposes afore-named. The Chaura chiefs present, and the Admiral Noor-oo-Din, are commanded to see these orders executed on all classes. Heaven will be the lot of the obedient; hell to the breaker of this ordinance.

(*Note* 1.)—The invocation, which was long, has been omitted by me. But this is sufficient to shew that BAL-NATH, the deity worshipped in PUTTUN SOMNATH, '*the city of the lord of the Moon*,' was the sun-god, *Bal*. Hence the title of the dynasties which ruled this region, BAL-KA-RAE, '*the princes of Bal*,' and hence the capital BALICAPOOR, '*the city of the sun*,' familiarly written *Balabhi*, whose ruins, as well as this inscription, rewarded

a long journey. The Rana's ancestors, the *Suryas* or 'sun-worshippers,' gave their name to the peninsula, Saurashtra, or Syria, and the dynasties of CHAURA, and CHAULUC, or SOLANKI, who succeeded them on their expulsion by the Parthians, retained the title of BALICARAES, corrupted by Renaudot's Arabian travellers into BALHARA.

(*Note* 2.)—The importance of the discovery of the *new eras* has already been descanted on in the annals, S. 1320—945 the date of this inscription—375 of Vicrama for the first of the Balabhi era: and 1320—151 gives S. 1169 for the establishment of the *Sinhasinga* era—established by the Gohils of the island of Deo, of whom I have another memorial, dated 927 Balabhi Samvat. The Gohils, Chauras, and Gehlotes, are all of one stock.

(*Note* 3.)—Arjuna-Deva *Chaluc*, was prince of Anhulpoor or Anhulwarra, founded by Vanraj Chaura in S. 802—henceforth the capital of the Balica-raes after the destruction of Balabhi.

(*Note* 4.)—From this it is evident that the Islandic Deo was a dependent fief of Anhulwarra.

(*Note* 5.)—This evinces that Anhulwarra was still the emporium of commerce which the travellers of Renaudot and Edrisi describe.

(*Note* 6.)—The great temple of Somnath.

(*Note* 7.)—The Tutelary divinity of the Chauluc race.

(*Note* 8.)—The goddess of the Bhil tribes.

No. V.

Inscription from the ruins of Aitpoor.

In Samvatsir 1034, the 16th of the month Bysak, was erected this dwelling* of Narukswami.

From Anundpoor came he of Brahmin† race (may he flourish), Muhee Deva Sri Goha Dit, from whom became famous on the earth the Gohil tribe.

2. Bhoj.
3. Mahindra.
4. Naga.
5. Syeela.
6. Aprajit.
7. Mahindra, no equal as a warrior did then exist on the earth's surface.
8. Kalbhoj was resplendent as the sun;‡
9. Khoman, an unequalled warrior; from him
10. Bhirtrpad, the Tiluk of the three worlds; and from whom was
11. Singji; whose Ranee Maha Lakmee, of the warlike race of Rashtra (Rahtore), and from her was born:
12. Sri Ullut. To him who subdued the earth and became its lord, was born Haria Devi: her praise was known in Hurspoora; and

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* Aitun.
† Vipra cula.
‡ Ark.

from her was born a mighty warrior in whose arm victory reposed; the Khetri of the field of battle, who broke the confederacy of his foes, and from the tree of whose fortune riches were the fruit: an altar of learning; from him was

13. Nirvahana. By the daughter of Sri Jaijah, of Chauhana race, was born:

14. Salvahana.

Such were their (the princes whose names are given) fortunes which I have related. From him was born:

15. Sacti Koomar. How can he be described?—He who conquered and made his own the three qualifications *(sacti)* * whose fortunes equalled those of Bhirtrpad. In the abode of wealth Sri Aitpoor, which he had made his dwelling, surrounded by a crowd of princes; the *kulpdroom* to his people; whose foot-soldiers are many; with vaults of treasure—whose fortunes have ascended to heaven—whose city derives its beauty from the intercourse of merchants; and in which there is but one single evil, the killing darts from the bright eyes of beauty, carrying destruction to the vassals of the prince.

No. VI.

Inscription of Kumar Pal Solanki, in the Mindra of Brimha, in Cheetore, recording his conquest of Salpoori, in the Punjab.

To him who takes delight in the abode of waters; from whose braided locks ambrosial drops continually descend; even this Mahadeva, may he protect thee!

He of Chaulac tribe, having innumerable gems of ancestry, flowing from a sea of splendour, was Moolraj, sovereign of the earth.

What did he resemble, whose renown was bright as a fair sparkling gem, diffusing happiness and ease to the sons of the earth? Many mighty princes there were of his line; but none before had made the great sacrifice.

Generations after him in the lapse of many years was Sid Raj, a name known to the world; whose fame was encased in the riches of victory, and whose deeds were sounded over the quarters of the earth; and who, by the fire of his own frame and fortune, heaped up unconsumable wealth.

After him was Kumar Pal Deo. What was he like, who, by the strength of his invincible mind, crushed all his foes; whose commands the other sovereigns of the earth placed on their foreheads; who compelled the lord of Sacambhari to bow at his feet; who in person carried his arms to Sewaluk, making the mountain lords to bow before him, even in the city of Salpoori!

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* 1. Pribhoo.
2. Ootchha. } Three Sactis.
3. Muntri.

On the mountain Chutterkote.....the lord of men, in sport placed this [writing] amidst the abode of the gods: even on its pinnacle did he place it. Why? That it might be beyond the reach of the hands of fools!

As Nisa-Nath, the lord who rules the night, looking on the faces of the fair Kaminis below, feels envious of their fairness, and ashamed of the dark spots on his own countenance, even so does Chutterkote blush at seeing this (Prasishta) on her pinnacle.

Samvat 1207, (month and day broken off.)

NO. VII.

Inscriptions on copper-plates found at Nadole relative to the Chohan princes.

The treasury of knowledge of the Almighty (JINA) (1) cuts the knots and intentions of mankind: pride, conceit, desire, anger, avarice. It is a partition to the three * worlds. Such is MAHAVIRA;† may he grant thee happiness!

In ancient times the exalted race of Chohan had sovereignty to the bounds of ocean; and in NADOLE swayed Lachman Raja. He had a son, named LOHIA (2); and his BULRAJ (3), his VIGRAHA PAL (4); from him sprung MAHINDRA DEVA (5); his son was SRI ANHULA (6), the chief amongst the princes of his time, whose fortunes were known to all. His son was SRI BAL PRESAD (7); but having no issue, his younger brother, JAITR RAJ (8), succeeded. His son was PRITHWI PAL (9), endued with strength and fiery qualities; but he having no issue, was succeeded by his younger brother, JUL (10); he by his brother MAUN RAJ (11), the abode of fortune. His son was ALAN DEVA‡ (12). When he mounted the throne, he reflected, this world was a fable: that this frame, composed of unclean elements, of flesh, blood, and dust, was brought to existence in pain. Versed in the book of faith, he reflected on the evanescence of youth, resembling the scintillation of the fire-fly §; that riches were as the dew-drop on the lotus-leaf, for a moment resembling the pearl, but soon to disappear. Thus meditating, he commanded his servants, and sent them forth to his chieftains, to desire them to bestow happiness on others, and to walk in the paths of faith.

In Samvat 1218, in the month of Sawun the 29th‖ performing the sacrifice to fire, and pouring forth libations to the dispeller of dark-

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* Tribhuwan-loca; or Patala, Mirtha, Swerga.

† *Mahavira* to whom the temple was thus endowed by the Chohan prince, follower of Siva, was the last of the twenty-four *Jinas*, or apostles of the Jains.

‡ The prince being the twelfth from Lacshman, allowing twenty-two years to a reign 264—1218; date of inscription, S. 954 or A. D. 898, the period of Lacshman.

§ *Kudheata.*

‖ *Sudi choudus.*

ness, he bathed the image of the omniscient, the lord of things which move and are immovable, Sudasiva, with the *panch-amrit*,* and made the gifts of gold, grain, and cloths to his spiritual teacher, preceptor, and the Brahmins, to their heart's desire. Taking *til* in his hand, with rings on his finger of the *cusa* (grass), holding water and rice on the palm of his hand, he made a gift of five *moodras* monthly in perpetuity to the *Sandera Gatcha* † for saffron, sandal wood, and Ghee for the service of the temple of MAHAVIRA in the white market (*mandra*) of the town. Hence this copper-plate. This charity which I have bestowed will continue as long as the SANDERA GATCHA exists to receive, and my issue to grant it.

To whoever may rule hereafter I touch their hands, that it may be perpetual. Whoever bestows charity will live sixty thousand years in heaven; whoever resumes it, the like in hell!

Of Pragvavansa‡ his name Dhurmidhur, his son Kurmchund being minister, and the *sattri* Munorut Ram, with his sons Visala and Sridhara, by writing this inscription made his name resplendent. By SRI ALAN'S own hand was this copper-plate bestowed. Samvat 1218.

TREATY between the Honourable the English East-India Company and Maharana Bheem Sing, Rana of Oodipur, concluded by Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe on the part of the Honourable Company, in virtue of full powers granted by His Excellency the Most Noble, the Marquis of Hastings, K. G., Governor-General, and by Thakoor Ajeet Sing on the part of the Maharana, in virtue of full powers conferred by the Maharana aforesaid.

First Article.—There shall be perpetual friendship, alliance, and unity of interests between the two states, from generation to generation, and the friends and enemies of one shall be the friends and enemies of both.

Second Article.—The British Government engages to protect the principality and territory of Oodipur.

Third Article.—The Maharana of Oodipur will always act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, and acknowledge its supremacy, and will not have any connexion with other chiefs or states.

Fourth Article.—The Maharana of Oodipur will not enter into any negotiation with any chief or state without the knowledge and sanction of the British Government; but his usual amicable correspondence with friends and relations shall continue.

Fifth Article.—The Maharana of Oodipur will not commit aggressions upon any one; and if by accident a dispute arise with any one, it shall be submitted to the arbitration and award of the British Government.

Sixth Article.—One-fourth of the revenue of the actual territory of Oodipur shall be paid annually to the British Government as tribute for five years, and after that term three-eighths in perpetuity. The

* Milk, curds, clarified butter, honey, butter, and sugar.
† One of eighty-four divisions of Jain tribes.
‡ Poorval, a branch of the Oswal race of Jain laity.

Maharana will not have connection with any other power on account of tribute, and if any one advance claims of that nature, the British Government engages to reply to them.

Seventh Article.—Whereas the Maharana represents that portions of the dominions of Oodipur have fallen, by improper means, into the possession of others, and solicits the restitution of those places: the British Government from a want of accurate information is not able to enter into any positive engagement on this subject; but will always keep in view the renovation of the prosperity of the state of Oodipur, and after ascertaining the nature of each case will use its best exertions for the accomplishment of the object, on every occasion on which it may be proper to do so. Whatever places may thus be restored to the state of Oodipur by the aid of the British Government, three-eighths of their revenues shall be paid in perpetuity to the British Government.

Eighth Article.—The troops of the state of Oodipur shall be furnished according to its means, at the requisition of the British Government.

Ninth Article.—The Maharana of Oodipoor shall always be absolute ruler of his own country, and the British jurisdiction shall not be introduced into that principality.

Tenth Article.—The present treaty of ten articles having been concluded at Delhi, and signed and sealed by Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe and Thakoor Ajeet Sing Bahadoor, the ratifications of the same, by His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General, and Maharana Bheem Sing, shall be mutually delivered within a month from this date.

Done at Delhi, this thirteenth day of January, A. D. 1818.

(Signed) C. T. METCALFE, (L.S.)

THAKOOR AJEET SING, (L.S.)

END OF THE VOLUME I.

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